UPDIKE'S DOUBLE VISION **JOSEPHINE HENDIN**

THE NATION

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THE MUTATION OF AMERICAN POLITICS

Mayor Frank Rizzo: *The Disease*
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Organized Citizen Action: *The Therapy*
MILTON KOTLER

Backlash in Southeast Asia
Thailand on the Tide of Reaction
Harvey Wasserman

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LETTERS

solution in Taiwan

New York City

The death of Mao in Peking has been greeted with elation in Taipei by those in authority, together with intimations that it will pave the way for their "reconquering the mainland." If those in authority in Washington have any sense, they will step on that idea hard. It is obviously a chimera, not shared by the vast majority of people in Taiwan. . . .

We are now in a very strong position, politically and legally, to influence both Peking and Taipei in the direction of normalizing their relations to their mutual advantage. This we could do by giving the "Republic of China" a year's notice of our abrogation of our treaty with it, unless within such year it reorganizes itself as a democratic Republic on a one-adult/one-vote basis, changes its name to Taiwan, abandons Quemoy and Matsu and seeks a nonaggression treaty with the People's Republic of China.

An independent Taiwan with no desire or potential for "reconquering the mainland" should prove very valuable to the PRC, as a sort of super Hong Kong through which it could trade even more extensively and profitably with the outside world than it now does through Hong Kong.

With both Chiang and Mao dead, and new leadership coming into power in the PRC that was not involved in the civil war with Chiang and the Kuomintang, this could very possibly work out. Even if it didn't, at least we would have made a constructive attempt to set right the monstrous wrongs our post-World War II China policies have done to the Taiwanese people.

Frederic C. Smedley

another coup for Kissinger

Amherst, Mass.

On October 6, news again reached us of a right-wing military takeover of a democratically elected government, this time in Thailand. . . . What is not made apparent in the news stories . . . is the role that American tax dollars have played in these too distant tragedies. Just as the U.S. Government's foreign policy has now been revealed to have led to the overthrow of Allende in Chile, similar policies set the stage for the coup in Thailand. . . . In October 1973, mass popular demonstrations ended a forty-year reign of terror by successive military regimes in Thailand . . . and established Thailand's first democratic constitution and elected government. In the last year of the dictators' rule, U.S. economic aid was $39 million, while aid to the military totaled $68 million. With the beginning of democratic rule, there was an immediate decrease in the economic aid to the elected government (down to $17 million by last year), while military aid to the powerful right wing was increased to $83 million in 1975.

The drop in economic aid disrupted public-aid projects, fueled inflation by the resulting drop in goods available, and greatly exacerbated unemployment. The result was massive suffering and social unrest, student demonstrations, and unprecedented labor strikes. On the other hand, increased U.S. military aid ultimately allowed the generals to [achieve] . . . the military coup on October 6.

The instability caused by Dr. Kissinger's policy of support for the right-wing elements in Thailand has once again destabilized an area of the world. While the moderate democratic government had worked toward a demilitarization of Southeast Asia through the normalization of relations with Vietnam and Laos, the coup will, once again, bring confrontation between these neighbors. Using American taxpayers' dollars, the U.S. Government's policies have led to the tragic death and imprisonment of thousands of Thais and the destruction of the democratic aspirations of the Thai people. With conflict in Southeast Asia again on the rise, the cost could become much higher.

David Millikin, Department of Economics
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

EDITORIALS

Carter by Default

We doubt that our readers want or need a carefully balanced assessment of the two major party candidates for President, followed by an endorsement, ringing or not. Ford and his party and their genuinely reactionary platform are simply unacceptable to a country any of us would want to live in. Given that, we are left with Carter and the Democrats, more a hope than a choice.

All of us pretend that we have more choices than we actually do, even when the question comes down only to pulling the lever for X or Y. But it has been clear since late spring that Carter would be X and since August that Ford would be Y. To vote for Z, McCarthy, is simply to evade reality and, indirectly, to vote for Y. McCarthy says it makes no difference. He is wrong, knows it, and just doesn't care.

During this campaign *The Nation* has had its share of delusions. We thought and said two months ago that Carter should sweep the board, that the election would be a plebiscite on unity. We believed that he would act so as to be seen as the candidate who united the branches of government, his party, and the sections of this country, North and South. We had no doubt that the voters would embrace this idea of unity and the forms of it that Carter could spell out. They would be choosing a government that could act—in the general interest and for the general welfare.

Whether or not that was ever possible, Carter has campaigned in an entirely different way and thrown away most of the advantages he started with. Instead of conducting a campaign in a magisterial style (which he could almost have done, for the first time since McKinley, from his front porch in Plains), he has scurried around the country making undignified appeals for fractions of an electorate which would have been unified behind him if he had just assumed that it wanted to be united and if he had stressed the right issues.

The scramble has not paid off for him. It has raised large questions about his judgment and leadership, especially since his constant switches of tone and emphasis, dictated by his polls, have made him seem like a follower of changing public whims rather than his own man. He has made the further mistake, both substantive and tactical, of accepting the idea that the actual voters this year will be largely middle class and conservative. Thus he has excluded great numbers of people who would naturally have been in his constituency. As a result, the contest between himself and Ford has been fought on Ford's ground, not his. A more fervent commitment to social justice, as outlined in the Democratic platform, might have involved millions more in his cause. Inexplicably, he chose the more cautious, conventional route.

Despite all these errors, despite a certain shiftiness, and despite his hawkish tone on international issues, Carter is the only hope, the only choice this year. He is likely to win, largely because the economy is faltering, because it is "time for a change" and because his opponent is so unappealing. The question is: what will he

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do with the Presidency? It is always hard to predict that, and especially so with as hooded a character as Carter. (After all, Franklin Roosevelt, by comparison as open a character as all outdoors, was elected in 1932 on the basis of undertakings he promptly reversed in office.)

Perhaps a somewhat cynical reading of Carter's past career in Georgia politics offers a clue. He ran and was elected Governor of his state as, in effect, a rather benighted redneck, and then proceeded to show himself almost the exact opposite, becoming one of the more enlightened Governors in the South, with an excellent record on racial justice.

It is not very encouraging to have to make this backhanded comparison and to extend it into a hopeful prediction. But the record of the man and of his campaign does not stimulate a more positive approach. Carter, we believe, is an intelligent and decent man who has been badly advised in his campaign. He is committed to his party's platform. That is the best basis for voting for him.

Things as They Are

The award of the Nobel Prize in Economics to Prof. Milton Friedman of Chicago is a perfect commentary on the state of that "science." Professional economists of all stripes would tend to agree that, by the standards currently in vogue, Friedman is a sound, and perhaps inevitable, choice for this accolade. He stands on the heights of orthodoxy, his technical accomplishments are noteworthy, he has revived and established monetarism at the center of conservative economic doctrine. Above all, he is the incarnation of a "value-free" approach to the ways in which societies organize their productive life and men and women earn their living (or fail to). He is the very darling of the capitalist world's bankers and businessmen, having provided them with an up-to-date doctrine to support their natural habits of short-sighted greed.

It was also natural that President Ford should crow over the award to Friedman (and to the three American scientists who swept the other Nobel awards given so far this year). The President chose the occasion to snipe at Carter for daring to suggest that there was anything wrong with the United States when it beat the rest of the world in competition for Nobel awards. After all, Friedman was an adviser to Goldwater when that deep social thinker was running for President in 1964.

So, by the current technical and professional standards of economics, the award to Milton Friedman was predictable and even justified. But should Americans therefore exult? Not at all, in our view. It simply proves that economics, which once took pride in its status as a branch of the moral sciences, has become the purely technical arm of things as they are, not as they should be.

Friedman's own record as a consultant and adviser to repressive regimes around the world is a good example of this. Among his clients has been the military junta in Chile which, in the interests of the "stability" doctrines for which the Nobel committee praised Friedman (admittedly in another context), has become one of the most repressive and murderous governments in the world.

In an article in this magazine published less than a

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month (August 28) before his assassination in Washington, the distinguished Chilean economist and diplomat Orlando Letelier, a refugee from that country, took apart the doctrines which Milton Friedman and his "Chicago boys" had sold (in both senses) to the Chilean junta. Letelier showed in convincing detail that the effect for Chile of the Friedman prescription—value-free, of course—was to sacrifice the people of that tortured country to the lust for power of the landed oligarchy and their military servants. As an economist—but one deeply concerned with human values—Letelier also proved that, in purely economic terms, the bitter medicine of Friedman & Co. was not working and that the conditions of life were vastly worse under the Pinochet regime than they had been under the Allende government which Letelier served with distinction.

One would have hoped that the Swedish jury might have pondered the implications of what Friedman had been up to in Chile before it crowned him with laurel. But economics, of course, is a "science" and therefore above human considerations. Technical brilliance is all that matters to a discipline that pretends to be abstract while it deeply affects the lives, liberties and chances for happiness of the world's billions.

It is a sad commentary on the state of the world and its ways of surviving that the most fulsome praise for the Nobel award to Friedman comes from the Establishment press of the world's sickest advanced economy, that of England, now governed by a Socialist Party wholly dependent on the world's bankers for its actual survival. It is another advertisement for the technical—and moral and intellectual—bankruptcy of what used to be called Great Britain. Even the hard-boiled theorist Milton Friedman might see something both sad and comic in that reaction to him in the land of Adam Smith and John Maynard Keynes, where Karl Marx did his major work.

Measure of Pain

An unpleasant effort is underway to reinterpret, or rewrite, the history of the McCarthy era and the politics that led to that disgraceful period. The oddity of this attempt by the neo-conservative establishment is that it takes off with an attack on the so-called "revisionist" historians who have been attempting to right the balance on the question of who really started the cold war. It might be called "re-revisionism" and it must be said that what it ends up with can hardly be called a just vision of what really happened here in the 1930s through the 1950s.

We do not propose to undertake here an exhaustive examination of the tangle of rights and wrongs that enter into this question (Ronald Radosh is preparing an article for this magazine that will aim to do that job in the near future). But we would make one or two quite simple, even primitive, comments on one aspect of the new polemic that has started up in the pages of the intellectual magazines and even in *The New York Times*. It has to do with the relative degree of suffering inflicted in those dark days by the Right on the Left, and vice versa.

Both William Phillips of *Partisan Review* and Hilton Kramer of *The New York Times* have written recently that when the Left rode high in this country (did it ever?) the anti-Communists suffered from various forms of discrimination and even a kind of persecution. Some of this treatment, they imply, was dealt out to the anti-Communists, many of them former radicals, by the anti-anti-Communists when it did not come from outright radicals of various shades. Phillips writes of his own experience both as a literary critic and as an academic, and Kramer suggests that the phenomenon of discrimination against nonradicals by radical cliques was quite widespread and involved personal suffering that was comparable to what the radicals had to endure during the McCarthy period. They take off against Lillian Hellman's remarkable little book *Scoundrel Time* and against such other re-creations of the age as Woody Allen's film *The Front*.

Personal pain and suffering must be about the hardest things to quantify, since individuals and their sensibilities are involved. But can it seriously be maintained that in America the Left was ever in a position to injure people's lives and careers to anything like the extent that the Right (or anti-Left) could, and did, when it had the power of every level of government behind its effort? The answer must clearly be in the negative.

Naturally there were cliques in the arts, sciences and professions, to resurrect the name of a well-known radical committee of those days, which advanced the careers of their friends, along with the ideas that they espoused. That happens in every area of life and is happening now, in the rightward sense, in many parts of the academic community. But can that kind of favoritism sensibly be compared with the outright and quite wholesale persecutions that occurred during the McCarthy period when the power of the law and the government was applied, in the interests of orthodoxy, against hundreds of individuals who held what had come to be unpopular political views?

Do the people who try to make that equation claim that the numbers involved are anywhere near equivalent and the penalties comparable—jail sentences, loss of livelihood for years, as against discrimination in some academic appointments and rejection of manuscripts?

The comparison falls on its face. It makes no sense at all, and its proponents have at least had the sense to imply, rather than baldly state it. There is much more to be said on this whole distressing period and its reappearance in a new guise, but those who are trying to revise the record on American radicalism and the official reaction against it would do well to drop this ridiculous and discreditable line about equivalent suffering.

Loose-Lipped General

You can add to the long list of American political blunders the use of "inelegant phraseology." That may sound more like a drawing-room gaffe or a bad mark on a school theme, but it is the term used by Secretary of Defense Rumsfeld to describe, and condone, the statement by the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. George Brown, that Israel is a "burden" for the United States defense establishment to bear. Everyone knows that the

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Ford administration, starting with the chief magistrate himself, is renowned for the elegant precision of its language. It must therefore shock them the more to find in their midst a blunt-spoken soldier who uses such vulgar speech, especially when his words become known two weeks before Election Day.

It might just turn off, to employ another vulgarism, some voters who care about the fate of Israel. There has been an enormous outcry against General Brown. Tempests of opprobrium are battering at the doors of the White House. Governor Carter has zeroed in his rhetorical guns on this political target of opportunity and demanded that Ford "show some leadership" and at least scold the General for his misuse of the language. But Ford, Rumsfeld, et al. are stoutly sticking by their chosen General, the country's top soldier. They have even forgiven this loose-lipped General his further statements that the British armed forces are "pathetic," good for nothing but parades, and that the Shah of Iran seems to be reconstituting the ancient Persian Empire.

Last summer when General Brown was busy repeating a view he had expressed two years earlier, that American Jews had an "undue influence" on this country's policies because of their ownership of banks and media, we commented here (editorial, "The Brass Band," July 17) that the President's reprimand of Brown's idiocy was not enough and that it was "incredible" that Congress should have confirmed him for a second term as JCS Chairman after he stuck to his original views, making only a weasel's shift toward civility. The point we made was that not only were his notions wrong and stupid but that a military officer has no business sounding off with his political views. It violates the old American tradition that men in uniform keep out of politics.

Granted that General Brown is a dense and incorrigible blabbermouth, granted too that the President should have shut him up or fired him long ago, there is still something to say about the "burden" of what he uttered in this particular interview. He is right in his characterization of the British military establishment. He is also correct in saying that our friend the Shah is erecting an imperial Iran along the Persian Gulf, with the indispensable aid of the billions of dollars worth of arms he buys from American arms merchants with the blessing of the Pentagon, State Department and White House.

Brown is even right in saying that Israel is a sort of "burden" for the United States defense establishment to bear—but only in the very limited sense that the Pentagon has had to strip its own arsenals from time to time to reinforce the Israelis as they fought for national survival against their intractable Arab enemies. It is true that we have as our only ally in the Middle East this small, embattled nation and that we would go to war rather than see it pushed under. Is that what the General means by "burden"? If so, it is one this country should be proud to bear. Most Americans feel that way and nothing will change them.

General Brown has not helped the American or the Israeli cause with his loose talk. He has spoken out of turn on things that are none of his affair. This political soldier should be fired from his job as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs. Ford will not do that, of course, but Americans should keep in mind on Election Day the fact that the President still has not learned the proper role of the military in this country.

From FDR to Ford

Alan F. Westin, editor, and Trudy Hayden, a staff editor, of the *Civil Liberties Review*, have come up with a special feature (in the October-November issue) of exceptional interest and significance in this Bicentennial Presidential election. Sixty-four experts have rated Presidents from FDR to Ford on their record and performance in protection of constitutional freedoms, meaning civil liberties and civil rights. The distinction of having the worst score went to Nixon in a landslide. The combined 1st-and-2nd-worst ratings were: Nixon 59, Ford 26, Eisenhower 17, Johnson 7, Roosevelt 4, Truman 4, Kennedy 4 (some of those polled did not vote in certain categories; hence there are some slight apparent discrepancies in the numbers). The combined 1st-best-and-2nd-best choices gave these results: Nixon 0, Eisenhower 6, Ford 6, Kennedy 22, Truman 23, Johnson 29, Roosevelt 34.

As one of those polled, I was surprised by the relatively good marks given Truman. Only Nixon, in my view, has a worse record. Truman's loyalty-security program institutionalized the witch hunt of the postwar years and played directly into McCarthy's hands. His Supreme Court appointments—Vinson, Burton, Minton and Clark—constituted, in the phrase of Irving Dilliard, another of those polled, "a collective disaster." The Vinson Court was responsible for a series of wretched decisions. Truman's civil rights record was anything but good until the exigencies of the 1948 election compelled him to go along with a program which was not of his making.

I was also mildly surprised by the relatively low rating given Eisenhower on civil liberties. After all, four of his five Supreme Court appointments, Warren, Harlan, Brennan and Stewart were excellent; the fifth, Whittaker, was an embarrassment. Warren and Brennan made the difference when it came to reversing or modifying the worst mistakes of the Vinson Court. True, Eisenhower later said that the Warren appointment was the worst mistake he made as President; on the basis of his record up to 1953 there had been every reason to believe that Warren would take a bleak and narrow view of constitutional freedoms. But points should not be taken from Eisenhower because he misjudged his nominee.

The Johnson rating was not surprising. LBJ was responsible for the important Civil Rights Acts of 1964, 1965 and 1968; his Supreme Court appointments—Marshall and Fortas—were good in terms of constitutional freedoms; and he showed some concern, thanks probably to Ramsey Clark, in the area of civil liberties. Most of the experts agree in giving FDR a black mark for the decision to evacuate 110,000 Japanese, citizens and aliens alike, men, women and children, without individual charges or hearings, from the West Coast states during the war, but fail to note that he also signed the Smith Act which should rate another serious demerit. But his Supreme Court appointments were—with one exception

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—superb: Stone, Frankfurter, Black, Douglas, Reed, Jackson, Rutledge and Murphy. The exception, James Byrnes, was a bad appointment made for strictly political reasons; fortunately, his term of service on the Court was brief. I found it strange that the others polled did not share my view that Kennedy deserved a heavy demerit for having named his brother Robert as Attorney General. The nominee was wholly lacking in background, training, temperament and experience, but, more to the point, no Attorney General should have ties that close to the President.

Several important conclusions are drawn by the editors of this fascinating report. One is this: "Despite praise for Johnson and FDR, every American President since 1953 is now judged—in the wake of Watergate and other disclosures—as having failed in significant ways, to give constitutional rights the sustained protection from the White House that our democracy requires." A sound conclusion and one that should be alarming but apparently is not. For despite all the Watergate furore, as Victor Navasky notes—he was one of those polled—"civil rights and civil liberties are not really part of the national dialogue."

No attempt has been made in this election to measure the commitment of either Ford or Carter to constitutional freedoms. President Ford has made one reasonably good Supreme Court appointment—Justice Stevens—but would it not be advisable to secure from both candidates a firm pledge to exert the utmost care, notably in the area of constitutional freedoms, in selecting future Supreme Court nominees?

As the editors note, to be President today is to have a few important opportunities to extend liberty and equality "but far more opportunities to harm these vulnerable values. . . . While they hope for another Jefferson or Madison, our raters seem resigned to contemporary Chief Executives who will do little, by themselves, to advance our constitutional rights. The question seems to be which of the next few Presidents will erode our fundamental freedoms the least." The Burger Court is already weighted against constitutional freedoms, thanks to Nixon's appointments; one or two more appointments of the kind he made would tip the balance on the Court against those "vulnerable values" for a decade or more. This consideration should have entered into the 1976 political dialogue but did not because we are still not deeply concerned about basic freedoms, despite Nixon and Watergate.

On October 8 a group of law school deans and professors accused the Burger Court of adopting a "double standard" under which it makes the federal courts available to causes and groups it favors and denies access to those it disfavors, such as the poor. The same group also accused the Court of "a whittling down," in its recent decisions in criminal cases, "of the substance of the various First, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th and 14th Amendment rights . . . and the denial of these rights no matter how egregious or clear the violation." The statement was issued in the name of the Society of American Law Teachers and deserves the most careful attention. It is supported by a 31-page report replete with citations and analyses of recent Court rulings prepared by Prof. Herman Schwartz of the Buffalo Law School and Prof. Carole E. Goldberg, of the Law School at UCLA. Still more recently, Anthony Lewis, in a fine column in *The New York Times*, has emphasized what a difference one Justice—Justice William J. Brennan Jr.—has made in his twenty years of service on the Supreme Court.

Americans, as Lewis reminds us, "uniquely depend on judges to refresh our freedom," but let us not forget that it is the President, under our system, who names the judges who refresh or constrict that freedom.

CAREY MCWILLIAMS

GERMANS VOTE FOR *STASIS*

BRIAN DICKINSON

Bonn

West Germany awoke from its bruising national election with something of a hangover. The voters elected a new Bundestag, or Parliament, so evenly divided that major new policies may be impossible and the life span of the new government sharply cut short. In spite of (or perhaps because of) their bounding material prosperity, the West Germans in effect voted for a *stasis* that in time could cramp their economy and—what is worse—hinder Bonn's role as the leader in relations with the rest of Europe.

Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and his Social Democrats had a narrow escape, and they know it. The party's coalition with the small and liberal Free Democrats has shrunk to a Bundestag majority of only eight seats, down from forty-six in the 1972 election. The reasons for the shrinkage indicate why West Germany is likely to have government-by-stand-off for the next few years.

In little more than one postwar generation, the Federal Republic has arrived at an economic and social crossroads. Its booming economy has allowed the Social Democrats to expand benefits in the country's long-established social programs such as old-age care and medical insurance, but these costs are soaring and much of the German middle class is balking at the prospect of higher taxes. Income taxes, social security and health insurance payments take up to one-fourth of an average worker's income; and with consumer prices high and inflation running at about 4 per cent a year, the West Germans are asking to put on the brakes. Coupled with this is a growing public fear that more social programming will encourage a larger government role and hence a leftward drift.

The German vote demonstrated a solid lack of interest in extremist parties, but Schmidt's narrow victory has left him in a delicate position. He is a superb campaign speaker, a gifted performer on television, a forceful and clever politician, and by most accounts the most influen-

Brian Dickinson, an editorial board member and columnist on the Providence (R.I.) Journal and Bulletin, *has been reporting recently from Germany.*

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tial political leader in Europe. But what he can do with this political capital is another question. He already has told the country that the national value-added tax will have to be increased next year. Wary of spending that could send inflation scooting above its present tolerable level, he can propose few major domestic initiatives. Even if his budget were not a restraining factor, his tiny prospective margin in the Bundestag would deter his coalition from embarking on any grandiose designs. Ironically, this may well make his job easier for the next year or two: the country's mandate for caution will have lowered expectations of what the government can do, and he may be able to survive quite handily with a go-slow administration.

To do so, however, he will depend heavily on the SPD's tiny junior partner in the coalition, the Free Democrats—a party that is an ideological puzzle, even to some of its own members. And Schmidt faces serious domestic problems. One, reminiscent of the developing debate over the U.S. Social Security System, concerns the solvency of West Germany's pension system. Another is the government's treatment of radical activists. Bonn now requires that all applicants for civil service jobs be first screened for their loyalty to the German constitution. This restriction, which carries more than a hint of potential repression, has outraged some liberals here, while the opposition Christian Democrats have demanded an even more stringent ban on Communists in any government post.

Another imponderable raised by the close vote is its meaning for Germany's neighbors and the rest of the world. Any extension of the SPD's *Ostpolitik* probably has been curtailed, since the CDU already was complaining that the treaty with East Germany gives away West German goods without receiving adequate benefits in return. And the rightward trend in West Germany is pulling the Federal Republic, politically, away from the leftist drift in Italy and France, at the same time that the strong Deutsche mark (recently revalued against six West European currencies) has raised prices and curbed demand for German goods, thus slowing West Germany's momentum to lead Europe out of the recession.

Some observers feel that the conservative tide in Germany could lead within a few years to a polarization across Western Europe that would dash hopes for a European federation. While the chances for such a division appear remote at this time, trouble could come if the Schmidt government were forced to decide, say, whether to help out an ailing Britain at the possible expense of German jobs. The German voters have thus effectively circumscribed Schmidt's freedom of movement. This seems to be the main political result of the election: a coalition that can govern, but not with great latitude; a Chancellor who, though powerful, heads a party much less popular; and a government kept in office mainly through the help of a centrist party that could marshal only 7.9 per cent of the vote. Helmut Schmidt's wings have been clipped, and with the rest of Western Europe going through political and economic gyrations, his fragile majority could reduce Bonn's influence on the international stage.

MAYOR FRANK RIZZO

ATTILA THE COP

STEVE NEAL

When the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled that he would not have to face a recall election, Philadelphia Mayor Frank L. Rizzo broke out a bottle of champagne to celebrate. He had good reason. Before the September 30th court decision, Rizzo was fighting desperately to keep his job, and his closest aides conceded that his chances were slim. "The recall is like a steamroller rolling out of control down a hill," said a pro-Rizzo ward leader.

Rizzo's lawyers argued that the Philadelphia recall provision violated the state constitution. Their attack on the recall drive was reminiscent of tactics used by turn-of-the-century political bosses, who claimed that recall was unconstitutional and revolutionary. Jefferson B. Fordham, a former dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, and a leading authority on constitutional law, said, "Any suggestion that recall is an insupportable compromise of the voting rights of those who voted for one elected to city office is specious. . . . The use of this device in American local government is commonplace." Rizzo himself had once tried, unsuccessfully, to recall a city councilman.

There was therefore considerable surprise and a certain bitterness in Philadelphia when the recall election was stricken. The manner in which the state court made the ruling added to the controversy. There was no opinion, no explanation of why Rizzo had been spared a day of judgment on November 2. Almost immediately he let it be known that he was preparing to run for governor of Pennsylvania in 1978. With at least three other major candidates expected to fight for the Democratic nomination, Rizzo is now regarded as a serious contender. He hopes to amend the City Charter so that he can contest the governorship without resigning his city office. Rizzo will have little difficulty getting the amendment through the city council, but it must then be approved by the voters, and leaders of the recall movement have vowed to oppose such a move with all their resources, which they have proven are considerable.

Rizzo, 56, a former beat cop and police commissioner,

Steve Neal is a reporter for The Philadelphia Inquirer, *specializing in profiles.*

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rose to power as a hard-line "law-and-order" conservative. He has made a career out of attacking "lenient judges" who dismiss cases because of "technicalities." Ironically, Rizzo remains in office as the ultimate beneficiary of the legal loopholes he so deplores.

He attacked the recall as a move by "ADA ultra-liberals" to "take over the city through the back door." In a newspaper interview, he said: "I'll tell you what's wrong with the groups that are trying to recall me. I'm against busing. They're for busing. I'm for the death penalty. They're against the death penalty. They are for legalized prostitution. I'm against legalized prostitution."

But Rizzo well understood that his opponents in a recall referendum were not "bleeding hearts and radicals." He would have been forced to run against his own record, and on that a *Philadelphia Bulletin* poll published last spring reported a 63 per cent disapproval rating. A *Philadelphia Daily News* poll published after the Supreme Court ruling showed Rizzo losing the recall vote. "His popularity is lower than Richard Nixon's in the last month of Watergate," says one veteran campaign consultant. Polls by political candidates in both parties indicated that Rizzo would have faced long odds.

Many observers had been skeptical that recall forces could raise the required 145,448 signatures to force a referendum. Many Philadelphians genuinely fear Rizzo, and it was thought that they would hesitate to sign. In the end, however, 210,806 signatures were gathered. Rizzo's city commissioners brazenly rejected the petitions, but Philadelphia Common Pleas Court Judge David Savitt, in a 61-page opinion, held it was "plainly obvious" that enough voters had signed to force a vote. The reversal of Savitt's ruling by the state court stunned Philadelphia's legal community.

Rizzo, who has never been on the ballot in a Presidential year, encouraged his ward heelers to hold down voter registration when it appeared he would have to face the recall vote. He feared that a heavy black, liberal and independent vote would make him the first big-city Mayor to be ousted by recall since Los Angeles recalled Harry Raymond in 1938.

If Rizzo had been more truthful about Philadelphia's financial situation in his 1975 mayoral campaign, he might have been spared the agony of the recall attempt. During his campaign he boasted that the city was financially healthy and he granted 20,000 city workers a 12.8 per cent pay raise. A dominant theme of the campaign was "He held the line on taxes."

Then, as his second term began, Rizzo instructed an aide to announce a budget deficit of $80 million. A "fiscal emergency" was declared and he imposed whopping tax increases—29 per cent in property taxes, 30 per cent in city wage taxes and 33 per cent in business taxes. The Mayor's inept handling of the financial issue angered much of his blue-collar constituency who were hit hardest by the new taxes. The normally outspoken Rizzo went into seclusion, lacking the courage to defend the unpopular tax increases or admit his deficit cover-up. "His claim that taxes would be stable was a monstrous lie," says Peter J. Camiel, former city Democratic boss and Rizzo's archenemy. "It was Rizzo's greatest mistake."

But an equally compelling issue in the recall drive was Rizzo's reaction to a satirical column in the March 14th edition of *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. The column, by Desmond Ryan, professed to be written by Rizzo as a guest columnist. It contained such phrases as, ". . . I mean, who really wants broads on the police . . . ? You want some bull dyke come charging on your property all ready with a swift kick in the lasagnas? Not while I'm Mayor." Rizzo unsuccessfully sought a court order restraining publication of the column. He then filed a $6 million libel suit against the newspaper, charging the article was "treasonable." But in court Rizzo unwittingly confided that his brother, Fire Commission Joseph Rizzo, thought the Mayor had written the column.

Rizzo's "Night of the Long Knives" came on March 19, five days after the article's publication, when some 250 members of the pro-Rizzo Building and Construction Trades Council blockaded the *Inquirer* building for ten hours. The demonstrators refused to allow employees to enter the building and kicked and slugged two photographers. The incident forced cancellation of two editions of the paper. Although the *Inquirer*'s management asked for help from city police, uniformed policemen stayed away on the orders of high city officials.

Rizzo insisted the demonstration was nothing more than a "labor dispute," and said he would keep the police from intervening in any future demonstrations at the *Inquirer*. But Rizzo crony Thomas Magrann, business manager of the Trades Council, readily admits that his union has no contract with the *Inquirer*.

The ground swell of resentment against Rizzo's attempt to intimidate the newspaper, combined with the backlash against record tax increases, touched off the recall drive. Former Mayor and U.S. Sen. Joseph S. Clark, signed the first petition at Independence Square. "Rizzo has been a menace from the moment he surfaced," Clark says. "He is the greatest threat to democracy in Philadelphia's history."

Another credibility problem for Rizzo was his threat to turn Philadelphia's July 4th Bicentennial celebration into an armed camp. He requested 15,000 federal troops to bring "radical leftists" to heel, and civic leaders blamed Rizzo for the lower than expected turnout on July 4. Happily, despite Rizzo's provocative talk, neither federal troops nor crowd violence interfered with the festivities.

Rizzo's decision to close the 244-year-old Philadelphia General Hospital also contributed to the recall fervor. His administration has done nothing to assure that the hospital's mostly black, poor patients will be cared for. "There is no other place for these people to go," says Charles Bowser, a black lawyer.

Bowser, one of the leaders in the recall movement, was a deputy mayor in a previous administration who finished second to Rizzo last fall as the candidate of the "Philadelphia Party." He compares Rizzo's record to the "duplicity and tyranny of King George III of England in 1776." Bowser says, "Philadelphia has come to another

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historic crossroad. Faced with the choice of continued repression or recall, we have decided to work for Rizzo's recall."

Bowser was to have been singled out as Rizzo's major target this fall. The Mayor, who commonly speaks of blacks as "niggers" in private conversations, had planned to tell voters in ethnic neighborhoods that their choice November 2 is really between "a radical like Bowser or a guy like Rizzo who came up from the neighborhood and is one of the people."

Playing rough and appealing to primitive instincts is an old Rizzo technique. Since his days as a young policeman, he has used fear and intimidation to project an image of *machismo*. Perhaps the most enduring symbol of Rizzo in this city is a photograph of him in a tuxedo with a nightstick in his cummerbund.

As police commissioner, Rizzo in 1970 presided over a police raid on Black Panther headquarters in West Philadelphia. He made a half-dozen Panthers strip naked in the street for a "weapons search." The American Civil Liberties Union said Rizzo used "brutality, harassment and intimidation" in racial clashes.

When he became Mayor, Rizzo vowed, "I'll always be a cop," and in fact he has governed the city much as he did the police department. The late Richardson Dilworth, Philadelphia's reform Mayor of the 1950s, charged that Rizzo was turning Franklin's City of Brotherly Love into a "police state."

One of the most alarming incidents of the Rizzo administration came in October of 1972 when President Richard Nixon was scheduled to sign the revenue-sharing bill at Independence Hall. Democrat Rizzo, who supported Nixon then and persists in calling him "the greatest President the country ever had," took steps to insure that there would be no anti-Nixon demonstrators. His police seized forty peaceful demonstrators, hauled them away in paddy wagons and put them in jail. They were released ten hours later without charges. Still, they fared better than two young people at a 1975 Rizzo rally who were roughed up, while policemen watched approvingly, for heckling the Mayor.

Rizzo has not hesitated to use force against other tough, street-wise politicians. When long-time Democratic city boss Peter J. Camiel, Rizzo's political godfather, refused to go along with the Mayor's choice of a candidate for District Attorney in 1973, he broke with Camiel. (Rizzo's choice, Hillel S. Levinson, was later indicted on kickback charges.) Shortly thereafter, Camiel claimed that he and his family were being harassed and persecuted by a "secret police" squad. Rizzo, after denying the charge, finally admitted he had authorized a thirty-four-member police unit to investigate Camiel and another political adversary, City Council President George X. Schwartz.

In the summer of 1973, Rizzo was boldly talking of a challenge to Gov. Milton Shapp in the Democratic gubernatorial primary the following spring. But Camiel sabotaged Rizzo's dream in a remarkable series of events that made Rizzo the only scientifically certified liar to head a major American city.

Camiel accused Rizzo of offering him control over lucrative city architectural contracts in exchange for putting Levinson on the slate. Rizzo denied the bribe, and mutual name calling followed. The *Philadelphia Daily News* then offered to sponsor a lie detector test to resolve the issue. To the astonishment of his advisers, Rizzo agreed. Camiel passed the test; Rizzo failed. His reputation as an honest, law-and-order cop was ludicrously dented.

Suddenly and overnight, Rizzo appeared to be a political corpse. He moderated his flamboyant style, dropped his gubernatorial campaign and began concentrating on what looked like a long shot bid for re-election. For more than a year, he avoided reporters. He also tried desperately to regain Camiel's support. When Camiel ignored his overtures, Rizzo decided it was time to make a show of force.

He chose the 1974 Jefferson-Jackson Day dinner as a battleground. Camiel had refused to invite Rizzo, but the Mayor came anyway—and with the same coterie of construction workers who helped blockade the *Inquirer*. They disrupted the dinner and for fifteen minutes kept Camiel from speaking.

A month later Rizzo used threats and bluster in a fruitless attempt to purge Camiel as party chairman. His influence and authority had declined sharply. But Camiel grew overconfident in his fight against Rizzo. Having defeated the Mayor in every round going into the 1975 Democratic primary, Camiel was unable to field a strong

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candidate. William Green, who could probably have defeated Rizzo, turned Camiel down. So did Superintendent of Schools Matthew Costanzo. When Camiel and his inner circle decided to back City Councilman John B. Kelly Jr. (brother of Princess Grace), Kelly's mother called Camiel and asked them not to endorse her son. That left Camiel with state Sen. Louis G. Hill, the stepson of Mayor Dilworth. Hill was a much respected legislator, but an ineffectual campaigner whose cold, aloof personality worked against him.

Rizzo, with a $1.2 million campaign fund, campaigned again on such emotional issues as crime and the economy, promising more city services without a tax increase. "The average Philadelphian knows he is safer because I am Mayor," he boasted. (FBI statistics indicated that serious crimes in Philadelphia had increased 32 per cent in Rizzo's first term.)

Shortly before the primary, the *Philadelphia Daily News* published an article estimating that Rizzo, who earned $40,000 a year, had spent $410,000 in costs and improvements on a mansion he had bought in the city's fashionable Chestnut Hill district. Rizzo has not yet explained how he could afford the home, ridiculing suggestions that he did anything improper.

The scandal may have hurt Rizzo. He lost a majority of the city's wards in the primary. But a low black turnout and large pluralities in such ethnic strongholds as South Philadelphia and Kensington enabled him to defeat Camiel's choice by 33,000 votes.

Rizzo's re-election was assured when two opponents challenged him in November—Bowser and GOP Councilman Thomas Foglietta. Rizzo won by a 177,000 plurality over Bowser. Almost immediately, Rizzo began plotting Camiel's destruction. He initiated his own recall movement against the old chairman. Camiel held Rizzo at bay for months. But then the Mayor made a deal with Gov. Milton Shapp, agreeing to support Shapp's Presidential candidacy in exchange for cutting off Camiel's state patronage. When Shapp's campaign fizzled, Rizzo worked for his friend, Sen. Henry Jackson, in the Pennsylvania primary. But Shapp kept his part of the bargain, and that left Camiel isolated.

Last spring Rizzo finally replaced Camiel, one of his sycophants, Martin Weinberg, becoming chairman. Before the Supreme Court ruling Weinberg was taking steps to hold his job in the event Rizzo lost the referendum. Now Weinberg is subservient as ever to his benefactor.

The Mayor's reputation as an enemy of the First Amendment was enhanced recently when it was revealed that an article hostile to him had been torn out of 40,000 copies of *Hustler* magazine by the United News Co., Philadelphia's largest news distributor. While the article was an embarrassment even to the most ardent Rizzo detractors, the censorship smacked more of Czarist Russia than Franklin's city.

But Rizzo has never aspired to anything resembling statesmanship. Indeed, in his re-election campaign he offered a succinct view into Philadelphia's future. "Just wait," he said. "After November, you'll have a front row seat because I'm going to make Attila the Hun look like a faggot." Now that he has beaten the recall rap, he may do just that. □

POPULISM IN THE BAY STATE

THE FAIR SHARE REFERENDUM

SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

The issues in this year's election are elusive and voter apathy, pollsters say, increases with every passing week, insuring that the next national administration will be elected by a minority of the electorate. In Massachusetts, however, the turnout may be heavy. Salient issues are on the ballot there as referenda, and controversy about them is bitter. Perhaps the referendum question having the greatest national potential deals with electricity rates. Sponsored by a burgeoning statewide organization called Fair Share, with a mainly working-class membership of about 2,000, the so-called "flat-rate" electricity measure would equalize the prevailing rate structure which supplies power to big users at lower unit costs than are charged to small users. Business groups in Massachusetts have contributed $300,000 to a war chest to defeat Fair Share on this issue.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for the Boston Phoenix. *He is the editor of* Government by Gunplay (*New American Library*).

If the referendum succeeds (or even comes close), it will inspire similar campaigns elsewhere. Attempts to reform the utilities might attain a scope not seen since the Progressive era. The flat-rate campaign is emblematic of a larger conflict—Fair Share battles on a number of fronts in Massachusetts. By demonstrating its permanence and ability to thrive under adversity, it may yet cause some rearrangement of the political scene in the state. Its Populist appeal threatens the stability of established power; that no doubt is why Senate President Kevin Harrington called Fair Share "revolutionary" and "a harbinger of a violent decade to come in Massachusetts and the United States." Fair Share is not, however, a band of Luddites. The group is concerned with bread-and-butter community issues like taxes, the telephone company's practices, blockbusting and auto insurance, in addition to the reform of electricity rates.

Electric rates in Massachusetts have doubled in the past five years. The state's Department of Public Utilities

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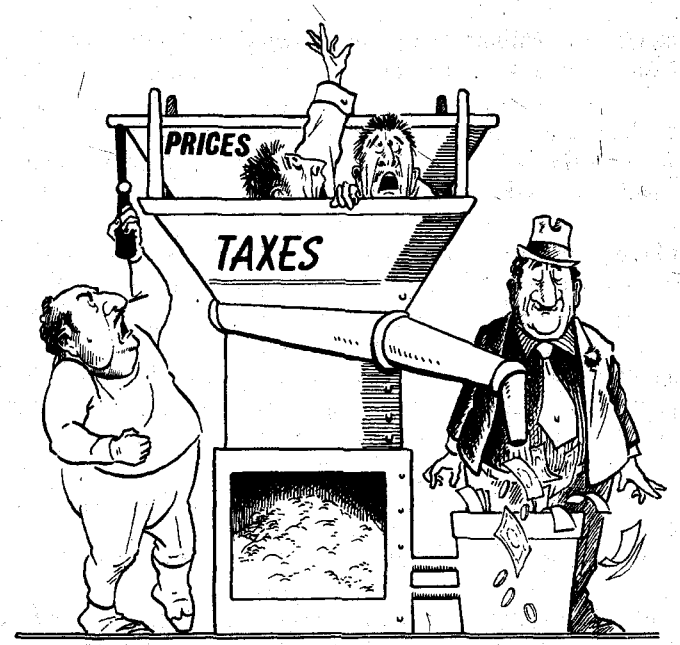
(DPU) guarantees the power companies a reasonable rate of return on their investment, and the most lucrative way to increase that investment is by building huge generating plants. These are justified by promoting the greatest possible use of electricity—mainly by giving discounts to big industrial and commercial users. The utilities discourage industries from producing energy themselves. The General Electric plant in Pittsfield, for instance, once sold electricity it generated to the utilities. During the energy crisis Western Massachusetts Electric informed G.E. that its energy was no longer needed, and G.E. shut its generator. WEMCO then built a new generator of its own and requested a $38 million rate increase. Another example: New Bedford Gas & Electric persuaded the Otis Air Force base not to install its own generator. Instead, it offered Otis electricity at a rate lower than the cost of the oil required to produce it. The utility was more than amply compensated by receiving a rate increase. The operative logic here is that of a monopoly striving to maintain a constantly higher rate of profit. Fair Share's proposal would decrease the utilities' drive for heavier electricity demand by closing discounts for big industry and flattening the rate structure. Small consumers would then pay the same rate as the big ones; they would no longer subsidize bargain-counter power for industry.

At present, residential consumers and small businesses pay from 40 to 70 per cent more for their power than does big business, according to Fair Share researchers. Boston Edison charges 3.3¢ per kilowatt hour to large industries; small users pay 5.2¢. Boston Edison's rate schedule, filed with the Department of Public Utilities, shows other interesting variations. The average home owner in affluent suburban Weston pays 4.9¢ per kwh, but the typical resident of working-class Charlestown pays 5.7¢. Why the discrepancy? The average Weston family, running assorted household conveniences, uses 967 kwh of electricity; the "Townie" consumes only 291 kwh and is punished for his austerity. Price, therefore, also follows income lines.

Electricity is more expensive in the Bay State than anywhere else in the country, with the exception of New York City. In the past three years Massachusetts electric companies have hiked their prices by $157 million. Yet the National Association of Regulatory Utility Commissioners issued a report in 1975 branding the state's utility firms among the most inefficient in the nation. The Massachusetts legislature has never passed any rate reforms, except to allow changes in the fuel adjustment clause that resulted in higher electric bills.

Fair Share's appearance on the scene surprised the utilities, which maintain forty-nine Beacon Hill lobbyists. When the group managed to knock down $68 million in rate increase requests before the DPU, the electric companies awoke in anger. The grass-roots activists have taken on more than just the utilities, which are ultimately controlled by the banks and insurance companies. The First National Bank of Boston, the premier financial institution in New England, has three of its directors on the Boston Edison board; the Liberty Mutual Life Insurance Co. holds five seats on that board. Big business generally was stung by Fair Share's impertinence.



Vadillo, El Sol de Mexico

Before flat rate became a question on the November ballot, Fair Share gathered 80,000 signatures to place it directly before the state legislature. "That's a beautiful title—Fair Share," said Walter Muther, the chief legislative lobbyist for the Associated Industries of Massachusetts, the group that has led the fight against Fair Share's bill in the legislature. In its original design the bill neglected to exempt schools and hospitals from paying the equalized rate. Fair Share attempted to rectify this through a compromise with the state Senate leadership, but the compromise was still unacceptable to business interests. Muther staunchly guided the opposition. "The main strengths of this economy were all threatened," he said. "Investment is highly mobile." His comment reflects the common business attitude. Massachusetts is in particularly delicate economic straits. Its distance from national markets, its unionized work force and social benefits are construed by industry as debits. Some firms have left the state for the friendlier climes of Singapore, the Carolinas and New Hampshire. Loss of jobs is the most potent argument business puts forward to rebut the flat-rate arguments. Senate President Kevin Harrington bottled the compromise bill up in the Senate Clerk's office and Fair Share then filed the signatures required to put the matter before the voters.

Business also acted quickly. As soon as Fair Share placed its proposal on the ballot, a new organization, the Council for Employment and Economic Energy Use, emerged to fight it. "We know that the proponents of flat rates might label us as big business," Leon Charkoudian, executive director of the council, said. "But can you really call $300,000 a lot of money?" He believes that this issue is part of "a broader political question." If it passes it will demonstrate "that the state is not on a sound economic footing." He says that industry would then be forced into an "uncompetitive" situation and would have

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to "cut back production, close down or move out. Those are the three alternatives."

Charkoudian cites a University of Massachusetts study, made for the Governor's Planning Office several years ago, as the basis for his assertion that about 30,000 jobs would be lost in the state as a result of flat rates. That study itself says, however, "Energy costs are not considered explicitly in this study." Fair Share researchers claim that under the flat-rate scheme an average company's increased electric costs would constitute a mere 0.5 per cent of its total operating budget. They say that this hike can be easily offset by power conservation programs. The John F. Kennedy Federal Building in Boston cut its electricity consumption by 26 per cent without any capital expenditures during the energy crisis. And a Commerce Department report states, "Savings on the order of 20 to 30 per cent in energy consumption can be realized in a significant part of the industrial sector through the application of existing, economically justifiable techniques."

Charkoudian charges that Fair Share's thinking is "fuzzy" and that "flat rates is one of the poorest ideas they've promulgated on the people." The consumer won't benefit, he says, because industry will just "pass along the increase."

The council is laboring to involve universities and hospitals in the battle. Some are willing recruits. "College presidents have the same role as businessmen," Charkoudian explained. "They're vitally involved. They are doing their part." Charkoudian sees himself as undertaking a necessary awakening of businessmen. "It's a sad commentary on American life," he mused, "corporations are not able to make their views known."

Among the neglected corporations in the Boston area the John Hancock Mutual Life Insurance Co. has kicked in the largest contribution, $9,500, to the council's war chest. When its new sixty-story headquarters was officially opened in Boston's Copley Square in early October, about 100 Fair Share demonstrators released yellow balloons and declared the skyscraper a lemon. The building is notorious for its reflective window panes, all of which were replaced because they kept popping out and crashing to the streets. The new windows are not thermal, and the building is expected to consume as much electricity as does all of East Boston, a large Italian neighborhood, while being charged rates at least one-third less than those levied on the "Easties."

Fair Share first began organizing in 1973 in Chelsea, an older working-class city, on the issue of removing tolls on the bridge connecting Chelsea and Boston. The initial organizers were veterans of the Massachusetts Welfare Rights Organization. Meanwhile, across town in Dorchester, a multiracial community, peace activists began a successful campaign to force from the bench a harsh local judge involved in shady land deals. This group, called The People First, attracting many long-time Dorchester residents, blossomed into several different activist groups, including a school designed to teach workers labor history and practical skills, such as producing newsletters, and the Citizens Action Program on Energy (CAP), which dealt with utility reform. Last January, CAP folded into Fair Share and within a few months the latter had chapters in fifteen Massachusetts cities.

The single largest contributor to Fair Share has been the Campaign for Human Development (CHD) of the U.S. Catholic Conference, which gave the group a $110,000 grant for 1976 and approved an $85,000 grant for 1977. Such aid is routinely approved by the Cardinal, but when businessmen learned about the donation to Fair Share they exhorted Boston's Humberto Cardinal Medeiros to veto it. After meeting with Fair Share members, the Cardinal gave his blessing to the grant.

The CHD argument for financing Fair Share is that the group directs working-class resentment and anger toward enacting plausible social remedies. Most important, Fair Share accomplishes this in Boston, whose blue-collar population has been violently divided along racial lines. Actually this view has been integral to the group's strategic conception from the start. The original funding proposal that Fair Share made to the CHD for its work in Boston stated:

> Few people seem to ask the obvious question about the white reaction to busing in Boston: Why should the opposition be so sustained, so passionate, so prolonged here? Often neglected is that busing has been imposed on the white, ethnic, working-class neighborhoods at the precise moment that the deterioration of these communities has reached an intolerable level. These neighborhoods have been experiencing a decline that is physical, economic, social and political. The residents of Boston's white ethnic neighborhoods are facing relentless pressure—not, as so many believe, from the blacks and other minorities, but from the powerful institutions —banks, insurance companies, City Hall—that make the real decisions which shape the future of the neighborhoods.

Given this coherent, far-reaching perspective it is no wonder that Boston's vested interests are alarmed by the group's rapid growth.

A *Boston Globe* poll conducted in early October revealed that the flat-rate referendum would be favored by a majority of the voters, if it had been explained to them; but if it had not been, the question would lose by about 10 per cent. Fair Share's own poll disclosed that the only factor keeping the measure from being approved by the voters is lack of money for its campaign. If it were financed to secure adequate media time and space—at a cost of only one-third what the business-oriented council will spend—the question would pass by a sizable majority.

Whether or not Fair Share succeeds at this time with this issue, it has gained wide attention and new supporters. It has even begun a new campaign as it approaches the climax on flat rates. Property taxes in Boston were recently hiked, squeezing already hard-pressed lower-middle-class home owners. More than 400 people in Dorchester flocked to a meeting Fair Share called on the issue. Mayor Kevin White says that busing costs have forced the increase. Fair Share says that the low assessment of commercial properties ought to be investigated. Another battle is in the making. The future of Boston (and Massachusetts) is by no means as certain as recent sensational events in the city would suggest. □

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CITIZEN ACTION

New Life for American Politics

MILTON KOTLER

Washington

A new force is maturing in American politics. It is the power of organized citizen action. Because of citizen action, cancer-causing chemicals have been removed from many foods, safety measures have reduced auto deaths, the war in Vietnam was ended, recreation areas have been saved, many neighborhoods were preserved from highway construction, utility rate increases have been curbed, and many other citizen goals have been won. They would not have been won from the government and corporations by the political parties, for whom the compromise of citizen interests has long been standard practice. Citizen action is now an independent base of political power, funded by the citizens themselves, and fast approaching equality of power with the parties.

The dues-paying membership of Common Cause is 256,000 which exceeds the number of contributors to the Democratic National Committee in 1976 and comes close to the contributor list of the Republican National Committee. Setting aside the federal contribution to this year's Presidential campaign, the Democratic National Committee raised only $2 million in 1976 through direct mail; Common Cause raised $5.5 million from membership and additional contributions. While the Democratic National Committee may beat the Sierra Club in number of contributors, the Sierra Club is one-third higher in income.

Given the present weakness of the political parties, it is no wonder that the IRS checkoff for contributions to political parties passed Congress. It was devised as much to make up for the lack of support for the parties, as to reduce corruption in electoral politics. In 1976 the income derived from citizen contributions by the Democratic National Committee and Republican National Committee is only about equal to the income from citizen contributions to eight national citizen action organizations (see box).

It is important to notice several things about this comparison. The eight citizen action groups selected show 98,000 more contributors than do the two parties, and the average contribution is the same for both. Party contributors maintain a higher repeat rate, so the decline in party contributors is a more serious blow to total income. If the complete list of national citizen action groups were presented, the Democratic and Republican National Committees would run an embarrassing second. To be sure, the illegal funds that pass to politicians at all levels exceed the legitimate contributions. But the test of comparative political strength between citizen action and the political parties is not the fact that the dishonest financial support of the parties exceeds legitimate contributions to citizen action but that contributions to citizen action exceed the legitimate support enjoyed by the national political parties.

One should also note that the cited income figures for citizen action exclude foundation grants to the educational arms of these organizations. Moreover, the figures refer only to mail contributions; they do not include the $4.5 million raised door to door in 1976 by national, state and city action groups. Marc Anderson, the innovator of door-to-door soliciting for citizen action, estimates a $20 million income by 1981 for such statewide citizen action groups as Illinois Public Action, Massachusetts Fair Share, Maryland Action Committee, the Clean Air Fund and others.

There are eight times as many dues-paying Elks as there are direct contributors to the Democratic National Committee. Forty-four million Americans may be registered as Democrats, but fewer than 0.5 per cent pay their dues to the national party. Nor are they more generous to the state and local parties. Declaring a party affiliation is a requirement for voting in most primary elections. It is a citizen reflex, not an actual identity. In realistic terms the political parties have not done much to organize political life in the United States. More citizens would rather have their interests in consumer, environment, neighborhood, taxpayer and human rights affairs handled by citizen action organizations than by the

Organization	*Members or Contributors*	*Dues*	*Income from Contributions and Memberships*
Common Cause	256,000	$15	$5,500,000
Sierra Club	165,000	20	3,300,000
Public Citizen	80,000	15	1,200,000
Environmental Defense	42,000	15	630,000
Friends of the Earth	20,000	20	500,000
Natural Resources Defense Council	30,000*	20	500,000
Environmental Action	15,000	15	275,000
Zero Population Growth	10,000	15	179,000
Citizen Action Total	618,000	$16 avg.	$12,084,000
		Average Small Contribution	
National Democratic Committee	200,000	$10	$2,000,000
National Republican Committee	320,000	22	11,656,000
Political Party Total	520,000	$16	$13,656,000

*All dues were not collected at time of compilation.

Milton Kotler is National Coordinator for the Alliance for Neighborhood Government, and a Resident Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.

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parties. John Gardner is more important to the citizens than Robert Strauss.

At present, the citizen action organizations are politically and financially compatible, though some strains result from the current stage of direct mail solicitation. Different groups are competing for support from the same lists of the small number of Americans who are accustomed to reading appeals and sending $15 checks. Occasionally these groups will pirate one another's work. But in time the technology of citizen funding will expand the base of citizen support, and meanwhile the tensions will not overwhelm the basic allegiance of citizen action to the common theme of protecting American lives and communities from the irresponsible forces in government and corporations.

Citizen action was born out of the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s. The protest actions of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) depended upon mass public support and contribution. The public began to realize that its financial assistance to SCLC was as necessary as its letters to Congress. Citizen action moved hand in hand with Congressional action. In 1964 Ralph Nader carried some lessons from the civil rights movement into the field of consumer protection. His organization even today resembles SCLC under the leadership of Martin Luther King Jr. Instead of clergy, Nader employs law students and young lawyers. Instead of tithing the churches, the public interest research groups tithe the universities.

While Nader concentrated on expanding citizen action for consumer protection, Saul Alinsky organized urban mass action around issues of poverty and the environment. The anti-war movement created a whole generation of direct action leadership that moved into environment and consumer action and neighborhood organizing after the war. Common Cause then brought sophisticated technical organization and fund raising to citizen action. There is, thus, a new political reality in the United States, the main feature of which is that political parties are no longer the exclusive agent through which citizens can act to advance their interests. We are living in a mixed system of political power based on the parties and the councils of citizen action. We are in a revolution of citizen participation and must look to its historic roots and its agenda for the future.

In *The Revolt of the Masses*, José Ortega y Gasset searched for the secret of the national state. "I see, then, in the national state an historical structure, plebiscitary in character." This character is established, "when each individual felt himself an active subject of the state, a participator, and a collaborator." For Ortega participation did not mean rule. It meant the daily plebiscite of opinion. Parliament possessed rule and the people possessed opinion. Parliamentary rule could not exceed opinion; and opinion could envisage no alternative to parliamentary rule. Participation was not a legislative responsibility of the people; it was a popular will of the whole that lay behind and compelled the decision of the representative organs of the state toward the "splendid program for the morrow." Participation, so conceived, was a myth of the national state.

The origin of the myth of participation and its relation to representative government lies in the founding event of the modern nation-state—its revolution. In the American and French Revolutions, sections and popular councils sprang into being. This happened again in the Paris Commune, 1871; and still later as Soviets, 1905, 1917. Councils appeared in the German Revolution of 1919, during the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, and most recently in the Portuguese Revolution of 1974. It was through the sections and popular councils of revolution that participation first appeared in modern politics. In Hannah Arendt's view, "The council system confronted them with an entirely new form of government, with a new public space for freedom which was constituted and organized during the course of the revolution itself." Political parties are quite a different matter. Arendt saw that "the parties, because of their monopoly of nomination, cannot be regarded as popular organs, but they are, on the contrary, the very efficient instruments through which the power of the people is curtailed and controlled."

According to Arendt,

> The conflict between the parties and the councils came to the fore in all twentieth century revolutions. The issue at stake was representation versus action and participation. The councils were organs of action, the revolutionary parties were organs of representation, and although the revolutionary parties halfheartedly recognized the councils as instruments of revolutionary struggle, they tried even in the midst of revolution to rule them from within. . . . Bad faith and the drive for power were not the decisive factors that made the professional revolutionists turn against the revolutionary organs of the people; it was rather the elementary conviction which the revolutionary parties shared with all other parties. They agreed that the end of government was the welfare of the people, and that the substance of politics was not action but administration.

Participation was in fact an original event of the national state and remained, after its suppression by the political parties, its essential myth of legitimacy.

The vision of participation anticipated modern revolution. It was reflected years earlier in Rousseau's idea of the General Will. Rousseau scorned society. It bred passion, not reason. It sought interest, not law. It was ruled by selfishness, not ethical will. It was society that ruined mankind. Instead of attempting any reform of society, Rousseau looked to politics and found the best possible government in the General Will. "Each man, by giving himself to all, gives himself to nobody; and since there is no associate over whom he does not acquire the same right that he has given the other over himself, he gains the equivalent of everything he has lost and more power to preserve what he has." We are all born with will and the gift of perfectibility. Perfectibility, which is the source of human insight and virtue, enables us to recognize the General Will, which is an ethos of law, and surrender to it. The General Will is not foreign to us, but the ethical tendency of our own will. The General Will, in short, is the exercise of our capacity for ethical

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self-determination. Participation is inseparable from the General Will.

The political form of the best possible state cannot dispense with the active participation of each individual will. "Sovereignty, for the same reason as makes it inalienable, cannot be represented; it lies essentially in the General Will, and it does not admit of representation: it is either the same or other; there is no intermediate possible. The deputies of the people are not, and cannot be its representatives; they are merely its stewards and carry through no definitive acts. Every law the people have not ratified in person is null and void—is, in fact not a law." The idea of the General Will tied the quest for freedom to the citizen's direct participation in determining the law of the state.

But while the idea of the General Will preceded modern revolution, and political participation occurred in modern revolution, party rule succeeded in winning the national state. In order to rule, the political parties had to claim freedom as the purpose of representative government and participation as its method. To do so, they converted the idea of political freedom as an ethos of law into special-interest politics, and converted participation from deliberation of law into merely voting for candidates. The state would achieve "freedom" through social administration, and participation through turnouts in elections. The political parties built vast interest-group coalitions to win majorities, instead of permitting all wills to assemble and decide. Party competition resulted in larger interest coalitions and larger government to administer more group interests. Eventually, the social administration of government escaped the confines of parties and their elected officials. First, executive power escaped from legislative will; then citizen interests escaped from the political parties.

In the 1960s the executive power of the American Government conducted a war without legislative sanction. Corresponding to this executive usurpation of legislative will, citizen participation began to escape from the political parties. The people began demanding their interests through direct citizen participation in the fields of civil rights, consumer protection, environmental concerns, neighborhood rights and tax reform. Citizen action organizations were formed and by-passed the parties to press their interests directly upon the government and corporations. Participation moved from being the myth of the national state to an actual new legal and political form of power. Representation as a coherent system of government was broken by the proliferation of group interests which it invited. We enter a new period of mixture between the old institution of representation and the new institutions of citizen action. Ralph Nader clearly understands that for representative government the chickens have come home to roost. "The error of wholesale delegation by citizens of their rights and hopes to unresponsive and indentured bureaucracy—government and corporate—is over. The emergence of neighborhood communities and functional citizen organizations along consumer, environmental and taxpayer lines is rapidly becoming one of America's greatest untold stories. The theme is direct democracy and the motif is the assumption of civic obligation by the citizens themselves for the design of their future."

Auth, Philadelphia Inquirer

There are three important topics on the agenda of citizen action. First, the recent addition of the neighborhood movement to citizen action is of profound importance. Neighborhood organizations and coalitions not only bring a new set of local interests into citizen action but are also vehicles for the massive outreach of consumer, environmental and taxpayer concerns. Neighborhood meetings and local experience carry citizen action support and funding far beyond the limitations of direct-mail participation. In addition, the neighborhood movement brings to citizen action its commitment to self-governing responsibility in communities. The vision of citizens governing their community holds out the hope that political life is not doomed to the perpetual struggle against bureaucracy, government or corporate, but that there can be self-determination for all people in the communities where they live.

Second, meetings are at present being held between different citizen action organizations to form a National Citizen Action Council. The council will mount an advertising campaign to make citizen action a household word. It will promote the idea that citizen action is a clearer pathway of interest for the citizen than are the political parties. A major objective of the council will be the passage of a federal income tax checkoff for citizen action, similar to the present checkoff for political parties.

Finally, recurrent attempts to build third parties correctly measure the present decay of the Democratic and Republican Parties, but misunderstands the significance of this decay. The American people are alienated from the two parties, but they are not waiting for a third or fourth party to come along. They have already chosen their political alternative. They choose citizen action, and this choice will be taken by ever greater numbers. The consequence is that regular party candidates will in short order be challenged in primaries by citizen action coalitions of organizers, neighborhood organizations, and functional citizen action groups along the whole range of public concerns. Not third parties, but citizen action coalitions, will revitalize electoral politics in America. □

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BACKLASH IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

Thailand on the Tide of Reaction

HARVEY WASSERMAN

Thailand's bloody coup of October 6 has peaked a tide of reaction that has been building in Bangkok since last winter. But the coup also coincides with a deeper regional reaction to the success of revolution in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and its violent excesses strike a note of desperation that may color Southeast Asian politics for some time to come.

The spark was set in Bangkok on January 14, when Prime Minister Kukrit Pramoj resigned and called for new national elections. Kukrit's moderate administration had been stymied by a divided Cabinet and a thoroughly factionalized 269-member Parliament in which his own party held only fourteen seats. In concert with King Phumibol Adulyadet (his cousin; Kukrit is a member of the royal family), who has the final say in Thailand's traditional monarchy, Kukrit dissolved Parliament. He also took the additional portfolio of Home Minister in an attempt to solidify enough power in his own hands to balance Thailand's volatile Left with its strong but discordant military.

Kukrit's juggling act failed miserably. In the April elections he lost his own seat in Parliament, and the rightist coalition of his older brother, Seni, took power. The reformist Left was shut out of the government. The election trimmed the number of parties in Parliament, but failed to achieve enough stability to keep Thailand's ninth constitution since 1932 afloat. Seni proved to be a weak, indecisive leader, and any hope of curbing the military disappeared almost immediately with the mysterious death of Gen. Kris Sylva, the only military man who commanded a certain grudging loyalty from both the leftist students and the numerous contending factions within the military. His death (many in Bangkok felt he was murdered) just hours after Seni had appointed him Minister of Defense removed the last possible buffer between the military and the Bangkok Left, led by the students of Thammasat University.

It was the Thammasat students who had brought about the overthrow of Thailand's previous military regime in October 1973. Marching by the thousands, they succeeded in mobilizing the city to force the dissolution of the Thanom Kittikachorn dictatorship in favor of a parliamentary democracy. By leading the charge against that corrupt and brutal military regime, the students created a powerful bond between themselves and the mainstream of Thai society.

But in the ensuing years the Thammasat campus became increasingly isolated. The students' attempts to reach deeper into the countryside and among the city's working population met with violence; organizers and field workers were frequently beaten and sometimes murdered. Technical students, who had been crucial allies during the Thanom overthrow, soon transformed into a rightist vanguard, well-armed and often brutal in their mass attacks on Thammasat and other leftist campuses.

The Thai leftists charge bitterly that the technical students' change of heart was incited by the police and by the American CIA, and point to the Right's critical role in creating an atmosphere of chaos and random bloodshed during the April elections. The charges are hardly without foundation. The American military has poured approximately $1 billion into Thailand since 1951, and some of the more reactionary segments of the Thai armed forces are entirely American creations. It has long been assumed in Bangkok that the CIA plays a role in Thai domestic politics.

It was inevitable, then, that the American presence became a major issue in the election campaign. At very least, the Left wanted the last of the U.S. troops out, and the Kukrit administration finally, grudgingly, agreed. But the expulsion of the remnants of America's Vietnam forces cost the Thai constitutional Left the last of its real strength. More than forty people were killed during the election campaign, many of them key leftist leaders, including Dr. Boonsanong Bunyothayan, chairman of the Socialist Party, murdered while driving to his home in suburban Bangkok. Virtually wiped out of Parliament, the moderate Left was shattered by the time the election was over. It held only six seats in Parliament, its leaders were dead or terrorized, and its organization was in shambles.

Through it all, the Thammasat students maintained their relentless demonstrations and vocal anti-imperialism. The atmosphere in Bangkok clouded rapidly. Ultra-nationalist songs and literature flooded the media, and the students became more and more the target of violence. When Seni proved unable to pull together a strong administration, it seemed evident that the only thing postponing a coup was factionalism within the army, or perhaps opposition by King Phumibol.

The King is viewed as semi-divine by millions of Thais. Born in Cambridge, Mass. (his father was studying at Harvard Medical School), Phumibol was educated in Europe. He is staunchly pro-Western and anti-Communist, and a shrewd politician. It is highly unlikely that the military would have moved without his approval, since the King still confers legitimacy on political movements in Thailand.

Whatever the behind-the-scenes reasons, the return of the old war-horse, Thanom, brought the simmering coup to a boil. Field Marshal Praphas Charusathien, Thanom's henchman and the real power behind his earlier dictatorship, came back to Thailand in August after a three-year exile in Taiwan. His presence provoked massive student

Harvey Wasserman traveled throughout Southeast Asia from January to July of this year, investigating political and nuclear developments. He is the author of Harvey Wasserman's History of the United States *(Harper & Row).*

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demonstrations, and he was forced once again to leave the country. But on September 19, Thanom himself returned. He was dressed in monk's robes and had ostensibly come to see his ailing 91-year-old father. Again under fire from the students, Seni ordered Thanom to leave, but somehow he did not. There is evidence also that general labor strikes may have been brewing in conjunction with the expulsions of both Praphas and Thanom and that the labor situation may have had a strong influence on the military well beyond the scapegoating of the students.

Then, suddenly, the military attacked Thammasat, killing more than thirty students and wounding and arresting hundreds more. Bangkok was quickly put under a state of siege—homes were raided for Communist literature, millions of books were seized; newspapers and magazines were suspended, hotels were raided. Prime Minister Seni found himself under house arrest, and the civilian government was abolished.

Within two days the image-conscious King Phumibol had installed a civilian figurehead, but the new military regime did not hesitate to announce its strong pro-American stance. It vowed to halt the flow of investment capital out of the country by creating a more stable economic climate. It also claimed that the civilian regimes had "gone too far" toward establishing friendly relations with Thailand's Communist neighbors, at the same time charging that some of the dead at Thammasat appeared to be Vietnamese—and thus, presumably, foreign instigators.

The Thai coup is only the most recent and visible event in the rightist reaction that has followed revolution in Indochina. To Thailand's immediate south, civil liberties have been under heavy attack in the former British colony of Malaysia. In the summer, two of Malaysia's moderate newspaper editors were detained on vague charges of subversion. The arrests stunned the Malaysian community, for the two—Abdul Samad Ismail and Encik Samani bin Mohamed Amin—were among the most respected journalists in the country. Ismail had in fact just been honored by Prime Minister Datuk Hussein Onn with the prestigious "Literary Pioneer's Award," a prize that carried a cash award of $4,000.

The arrests were particularly critical because they hit at the highest ranks of Malay society. Malaysia is racially divided between minority ethnic Chinese and Muslim Malays. The Chinese have traditionally filled the ranks of the guerrilla movement in Malaysia, while the Malays themselves have remained conservative, and immune from government repression.

In the past few years, however, the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) has for the first time opened its ranks to Malays, and a substantial number of them have apparently joined the MCP in the jungles. The detention of Ismail and Amin was the first indication that the Malay intellectual community could in turn no longer expect to be free of government coercion.

Meanwhile arrests have become more frequent in urban working-class and rural areas. Several thousand political prisoners are thought to be held in numerous camps around the peninsula, and the atmosphere of repression was thickening well before the upheaval in Thailand. The coup there will most likely accelerate that trend in Malaysia, for the Thai generals have made clear their intent to solidify shaky relations with the rulers at Kuala Lumpur.

In Singapore, already one of the world's tightest dictatorships, the summer saw a similar escalation of repression. Several newspapermen were detained (indeed, their "confessions" led to the arrests of Ismail and Amin, and some Malaysians claim the entire affair was a power play on the part of Singapore dictator Lee Kuan Yew, aimed at ridding the Malaysian hierarchy of some of his old rivals). Meanwhile Singapore newspapers were saturated with bizarre tales of alleged Communist subversion and intrigue. On June 4, at the peak of the hysteria, the authorities arrested Dr. Poh Soo Kai, branded in the media as "the Red Doc." He had been held without trial by the Lee dictatorship for more than eleven years, from 1963 until 1974, when he was released without explanation.

In June, Dr. Poh was charged with having given medicine to a man who may have given it to another man who may have given it to an alleged terrorist. More significantly, Dr. Poh was also accused of having openly discussed with foreign journalists the case histories of his former fellow prisoners. Dr. Poh's rearrest was viewed as a sharp warning that the Lee government will arrest anyone it wants, whenever it wants.

The new crackdown in Singapore fits well with the mood in Indonesia and the Philippines, both island dictatorships where constitutional human rights and popular-based social reform have long been dead. Indonesia in particular has been lobbying hard to turn the five-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) into a strong anti-Communist military alliance (which it, as the largest nation in Southeast Asia, would obviously dominate). For that and other reasons, the other ASEAN nations have been less than enthusiastic. But with a military regime now back in power in Thailand, and with the government clamping down on the Malay Peninsula, it would appear that the ASEAN alliance is at least looking to establish a firm bulwark to confront and contain the new Communist regimes in Indochina.

Thailand is the pivot, but whether the military there is strong enough to transform the country into an armed anti-Communist camp remains to be seen. Indeed, by driving into flight those students and moderates who survived the October 6th coup, the military may well have forced Thailand into a final critical stage of polarization and full-scale civil war. Unlike Chile and other Third World nations that have recently suffered military coups, Thailand shares a long jungle border with strong revolutionary neighbors. It also sustains a smoldering guerrilla war in the countryside, one to which the Bangkok government—military or otherwise—has long been irrelevant. The situation is similar in Malaysia. In both countries, there are substantial "liberated zones" where the central government holds no sway at all.

There can be little doubt that the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao Governments will be inclined to offer

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refuge and support to those fleeing Thailand. Vietnam has already accused the United States of being responsible for the coup, and it seems highly likely that outside support for the guerrilla movements will be stepped up in both Thailand and Malaysia.

What will happen after that is not entirely clear, but the possibilities appear strikingly reminiscent of a war just completed. This time American troops will perhaps not be on the scene; instead, we might witness a field run of the Nixon Doctrine, with Indonesian, Philippine and Singaporean armies serving as our proxies in the geopolitical struggle. Whatever the outcome, it is almost certain that the current chapter in Thai history will be remembered not as a resolution of national strife but as a critical contribution to the tension now gripping the whole of Southeast Asia. □

TRACTORS vs. PYLONS

HIGH TENSION ON THE PRAIRIE

MARK McKEON

Three times last June groups of angry dairy farmers chased electric power association surveyors from fields and county roads in central Minnesota's Stearns County. The confrontations between farmers and surveyors put a halt to work on a 400 kilovolt direct current transmission line being constructed by two rural electric generating and transmitting cooperatives—Cooperative Power Association, Edina, Minn., and United Power Association, Elk River, Minn. Through a combination of voluntary and court-ordered stays, the suspension lasted through the summer. The transmission line, along with a generating plant in Underwood, N. Dak. and a distributing terminal near Minneapolis, is known as the CU project, and has been in the planning and development stage since 1973.

If and when it is built, the line will be the biggest of its kind in the country. A number of 750 kilovolt alternating-current lines are already in operation, even though some of them were also opposed by farm and environmental groups, but only one other extra-high voltage direct-current line is in operation, and it is fairly new. It belongs to the Bonneville Power Authority (BPA) in Oregon, and transmits power from Oregon to Los Angeles. BPA is a federal power authority like TVA.

No farmer wants a high-voltage transmission line to cross his land. Even the old generation of now relatively small lines are more than eyesores; their presence on farm land modifies field work and irrigation patterns, limits future land use, and sometimes reduces the value of the land. The CU line, however, belongs to a new generation of high-voltage transmission lines. Its 160-foot towers will dwarf everything on the open prairie landscape, and with their long, outstretched arms will look like a file of gigantic robots immobilized on the horizon. In addition, the line's extra high direct-current voltage may involve health and environmental problems not previously encountered.

Mark McKeon is a free-lance writer who lives in St. Joseph, Minn.

Organized as Counties United for Rural Environment (CURE), farmers opposed the transmission segment of the CU project during two years of public hearings. Their opposition failed to achieve more than minor changes and drew little public attention. The dramatic physical confrontations were more effective. One farmer allegedly drove his tractor over surveying equipment, and then battered the surveyors' pickup truck with his big machine. Such events finally made the farmers' opposition newsworthy, and local media covered the ensuing flurry of meetings and news conferences held by both sides. Disturbingly, however, local news facilities have not reported adequately the reasons for the farmers' opposition nor the public issues which that opposition has brought to light.

The farmers object that, in effect, they and their crops and livestock will be used as guinea pigs in a technological experiment. The proposed line entails two potential hazards. It will create an intense electrostatic field and, through discharges into the atmosphere all along its length, will create two of the most toxic of known air pollutants, ozone and nitrogen oxide. No one denies that the line will have these effects, but there is great controversy over the amount of pollution the line will create and over the biological effects of the electric field.

At public hearings held by the Minnesota Environmental Quality Council (EQC), spokesmen for the power associations testified that concentrations of air pollutants will not exceed Minnesota air quality standards. They also testified that the electric field, while something of a nuisance, will not present problems that cannot be offset by simple precautions and that its intensity will not be great enough to make it a health hazard.

But outside experts told the council that association testimony may be faulty and misleading. They pointed out, first, that the association testimony refers to ground level, edge-of-the-easement intensity and concentrations. They said further that in the case of the air pollutants the testimony is based on theoretically derived computations rather than on experimental measurements, and that other theoretical computations predict yields of ozone and nitrogen oxide at or well above levels allowed in Minnesota.

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Dr. Merle Hirsh, physicist at the University of Minnesota at Morris, said that, using a U.S. Army developed model, he had computed ozone concentrations sixty times as great as those predicted by the power associations. Hirsh also pointed out that experimental measurements from the electrochemical industry lead to predictions of pollutant concentrations "dangerously close to the Minnesota maximum level."

Dr. Hirsh's testimony was reinforced by Gary Eckhardt, a Services Section chief with the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency. Mr. Eckhardt pointed out that power association testimony was based on theoretical computer models, and said that "more substantive field data should be taken to verify 'real' transmission-line conditions." He said that generally the highest concentrations of air pollutants are determined by measuring the worst possible pollution situations rather than by calculating average situations. Eckhardt also outlined the reasons for the farmers' fear of ozone by noting that broad leaf plants, such as soy beans, and crops like corn are severely harmed by even small concentrations of ozone.

Harold Josephs, an electrical engineer with extensive research experience on the production of ozone and electric fields, said that human beings and tall crops would be exposed to the line's hazards at well above ground level—as in the case of 8-foot corn or of a man driving a 15-foot-tall combine, and often right under the line. He, too, noted that association testimony on air pollutants doesn't take account of worst case conditions —no wind or very low wind—and said that ozone concentrations at ground level could greatly exceed Minnesota standards "for a considerable distance beyond the right of way."

When it speaks of the line's electric field, association testimony tends to dismiss it as no more than a nuisance. Fences and buildings near the line will have to be well grounded; machinery stalled or left under the line will have to be grounded; irrigation under the line, if indeed possible, will entail caution. Moreover, association testimony is that an electric field such as created by the proposed line produces no ill effects on human beings. For evidence, it cites the power industry's general experience and a Johns Hopkins University research project, performed by a team of doctors who monitored the health of ten linemen doing repair work on 345 kilovolt lines. The study lasted nine years, and at the end none of the linemen exhibited ill health.

In an article in the December 1974 issue of *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*, Louise Young points out that "studies of this type should examine a larger number of people over a longer period of time." Significant research into the biological effects of electric fields has just begun, and early results are not reassuring. In the same article Ms. Young cites a medical study conducted in Russia with 250 men working at 500 and 750 kilovolt substations.

> The studies showed that long-time work at 500 kilovolt substations without protective measures resulted in "shattering the dynamic state of the central nervous system, heart and blood-vessel system, and in changing blood structure."

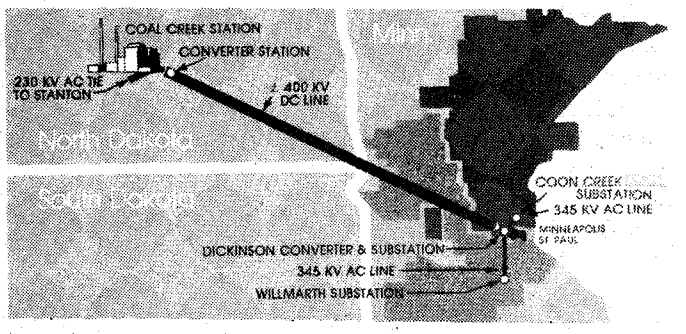
She also cites a UCLA study.

> Monkeys were exposed to electric fields in air of power-line frequency [but at much lower intensities] and there was a significant alteration of the interresponse time of the exposed animals. This change in time perception is believed to be a very sensitive measure of conditions which, if long term exposure occurred, would result in important behavioral and neurological changes.

And she points out that the use of extra-high voltage transmission facilities is so new that there

> has not been a sufficient body of operating experience accumulated to establish the precise degree of risk involved. . . . This is especially true since the biological effects that are considered to be the most likely results are long term effects such as damage to lung tissue and the nervous system and genetic mutations. The experience of linemen working on lower voltage installations cannot be directly applied to this situation because linemen are routinely protected from the electric fields by various types of screening devices. Surprising as it may seem, linemen are not necessarily exposed for as long periods of time as many farmers are.

Experience with lines of lower voltage should not lead us to believe that the 400 kilovolt lines now being constructed, or the 1,000 kilovolt lines envisioned, will also be harmless. Ms. Young concludes her article by noting that, when voltages are doubled or tripled, "so large a change occurs that biological thresholds may be passed, activating processes that did not take place at all at the lower voltages."



Schematic View of Project

The potential health hazards of the CU line are worrisome enough. What is also troubling, however, is that the line is only the first new link planned between the Western coal fields and the energy-needy Midwest and East. It appears that, at least in some cases, it is now cheaper and politically less abrasive to build mine-site generating plants and long-distance transmission lines than to ship coal by rail and build urban area generating plants.

The near certainty that other extra-high voltage transmission projects are soon to come raises an intertwined series of environmental, political and financial issues. They arise out of the planning processes within the power industry, out of the interstate nature of the long-distance lines, and out of the phenomenal costs of such projects.

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CURE has taken action through Minnesota district courts to halt construction of the line, and that action illuminates some of the issues involved.

CURE's lawyer, Norton Hatlie of Minneapolis, has not said as much, but the farmers' general case against the two power associations is that to gain favorable decisions from the state regulatory agencies, primarily the EQC, they withheld information, failed to name all parties with a real interest in the line, and exercised what Hatlie calls an "unconstitutional right to incur debt." Not part of CURE's case, but certainly a kind of manipulation, is the fact that the two associations came to the agencies for the necessary permits only after they had already spent large sums to construct a generating plant and prepare a terminal site, and to purchase material for the line. The expenditures, more than $500 million, made it unlikely that the Minnesota Energy Agency or the EQC would refuse the permits or that they would demand radical and, consequently, expensive alterations in the project.

Seeking their preferred corridor for the line, the power associations told the EQC that the line's point of entry into Minnesota was fixed by easements already purchased in North Dakota's Richland County. The EQC held hearings on that basis, and did not consider any radically alternative corridors. But after the hearings, it became known that the North Dakota corridor was not fixed, a majority of the Richland County easements had not been purchased, and the North Dakota Public Service Commission was just beginning to exercise its authority over routing the line in North Dakota. The fact is that the misinformation provided to the EQC limited its statutory obligation to consider alternative corridors that might have crossed less productive, less populated lands.

Both Cooperative Power and United Power are members of the Mid-Continent Area Power Pool (MAPP), and are under contract to that organization to maintain a 15 per cent surplus of power for sale to the other thirty-two members of the regional organization. "Power Pooling" is a nationwide device for interconnecting the generating and transmitting facilities of utilities within a region. If they do not get the CU line, Cooperative Power and United Power will soon be unable to meet their reserve commitments to MAPP. Lawyer Hatlie argues that, because of the contract between MAPP and the associations, MAPP has a real interest in the line and should have been represented in the application to the Minnesota Energy Agency for a certificate of need. One interpretation of Hatlie's contention is that power pools as well as individual utilities should be the object of a state's regulatory agencies.

The buried dynamite in CURE's attempt to halt the CU project is Hatlie's argument that the associations are exercising an unconstitutional "uncontrolled right to incur debt," one that does not consider the eventual effect on rates to consumers. Hatlie claims that Minnesota has granted a virtual monopoly to the thirty-four REA distribution co-ops which are the clients of the two generating and transmitting associations. The monopoly is based on the co-ops' right to serve exclusive territories in the state. Each distribution co-op is owned by the public it serves, and that public must eventually bear the cost of the new line through higher electrical rates. Financial information about the project has been vague. The project is being financed with REA guaranteed loans taken from federal banks. So far, more than $500 million has been borrowed, but the total cost is unavailable. Estimates are that, so far, the project will cost individual customers roughly $4,000 each. But nowhere does Minnesota law provide an opportunity for the public to react to these huge costs. That, Hatlie argues, is unconstitutional.

CURE also charges that on the health issues the EQC hearing officer did not give credence to witnesses opposed to the line, even though some of those witnesses are as authoritative as the associations' witnesses. But the first three points outlined above are likely to be the most important both for this case and for any to come, since they reflect the general issue of regulating in the public interest the power industry's regional organization and its long-term planning and development processes. To maintain what it calls its "reliability" the industry operates on a regional, interstate basis, but regulation remains bound to a state level of organization aimed at individual utilities. Obviously, the situation calls for interstate cooperation among the regulatory agencies, but, at least in the upper Midwest, such regional cooperation is embryonic, if it has been conceived at all.

In both North Dakota and Minnesota the commissions, agencies and regulations that have come to bear on the CU project are all relatively new. The project was actually underway early enough to be exempt from the processes of the North Dakota Public Service Commission and the Minnesota Environmental Quality Council. But at the urging of county officials the North Dakota PSC decided to exert its authority retroactively over the line's route in that state. In Minnesota, the power associations were denied land use permits by at least one county; that caused them to waive their exemption from the EQC's authority, since they knew the EQC was bound by law to grant permits and has authority only to modify proposals and seek alternatives. But, as noted earlier, the misinformation the associations provided about the line's point of entry into Minnesota and the fact that the associations had already committed great amounts of money to the construction of the generating plant, the terminal site, and construction material for a line of specific design effectively limited the EQC's discretionary power. The EQC thus became an ally of the associations in their attempt to gain a corridor that county authorities had denied them.

The final meaning of the controversy over the CU project is that the long-term, expensive planning and development in the power industry, as well as its regional scope, makes such tactics almost inevitable. Unless they coordinate their efforts, and unless they are involved at the planning stages of generating and transmitting projects, the state agencies are more likely to become allies than regulators of the power industry in its conflict with public, private and environmental interests. □

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trine" in the study of alchemy in Spain, medicine in France, and subsequent practice throughout Europe and, we are told, the Levant. His writings are burned and censored by Catholics and Protestants; he returns to Flanders, assumes a new name, and buries himself in the anonymity of a Bruges monastery's dispensary where he continues to ponder himself in the cosmos. The author's voice, in that overlong course, too often imposes obvious analogies between problems in Zeno's time (1510-69) and those of popular present-day concerns such as "inequality in social conditions, and the lack of protection on the highway or filth in the cities."

But the great flaw in *The Abyss* is Marguerite Yourcenar's surprising failure to create a principal that is not a principle. Although in her "Author's Note" she makes this disavowal: ". . . there is no question here of constructing, mechanically, a synthetic character, a thing which no conscientious novelist would consent to do. . . ."—she has done just that.

Zeno reflects and deflects: Da Vinci's technological fantasies; Paracelsus's alchemical and medical practices; Copernicus's astronomy; Servetus's interest in tracing blood's courses; Vesalius's dissections and anatomical studies; Paré's surgical innovations; Caesalpino's botanical observations; Cardano's mathematics; Giordano Bruno's relativistic philosophy. Religion is entertained, rather more simply, as a name for the social and political madness that period suffered. Zeno, the skeptic which his sundry intellectual processes demand, regards religion as "leading to savagery." This is blooded in an uncharacteristically strong chapter depicting the Catholic siege of the Anabaptist stronghold in Münster where atrocities both within and between the factions "justify," at least momentarily, both Zeno's atheism and his view of men as "wretched absurdities."

But an episode makes neither man nor novel. For the rest—God or cosmos is, at the very most, winking remote. And man and matters of the heart are given but declarative due: It is said, but not substanced, ". . . that our lives are regulated by the heart, that fiery star palpitating in the dark of our bodies . . ." or, ". . . the wine of lust derives its

SKETCHES OF BLUE OAKS

1.

One blue oak coiled in the fog,
bent at the knees, poised to thrash,
to bolt the fog and the browning grass,

but locked to the earth, too old a friend.

2.

Looking ahead to a somersault on sage-swelled hard ground
you decide in a mind's decade of hard-skulled decision
not to bother. Crouched against the sky, one knee down,
you'd rather press—and hold—one thousand leaves.

Offer them to the light.

3.

A hand outstretched for one good friend.
Two hands for two not so good.

4.

Blue-black in a green niche!
First green velvet rubs my eyes,
smoothly, though I still blink; then
I summon the image of stick-strewn prickly land
over there, blades weedy into the ground; then
the true tree, all ganglia.

The tree is desire alive, movement from
idea to eye to the
nerve of it.

Todd Gitlin

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strength from the soul's sap, as well as from that of the flesh . . ." or, ". . . he continued to consider love's burning mysteries as the only means of access for many of us to that fiery realm of which we are perhaps the infinitesimal sparks." There is a good deal of such promise past the felicity of phrases, but nowhere in the book is any cleaving fleshed, much less any feeling felt. "In the final reckoning, friendship and aversion alike counted for as little as carnal blandishments."

Affective life is nothing to Zeno. Cognitive life comes—at book length—to little more. This is despite or perhaps because of the extraordinary range and ingenuity of sheer intellectual abstraction Miss Yourcenar constructs for him. When she tells us that "The act of thinking interested him now more than did the doubtful products of thought itself," we know that we are in the shallows, not quite the abyss.

What a relief it was to return to the limned, passionate serenity of *Memoirs of Hadrian*—as full of acknowledged extremes as it is of balance: the fleshed and the honed, the ecstatic and the reflective, absorption with self and recognition of other—be that lover, peer, servant, Senate, race, nation, nature, gods, cosmos. It is the mastery and mystery of Marguerite Yourcenar's gift that she found and forged the superior amalgam (for the sake of comparison in this essay) that Zeno's intellectual alchemy made base.

If one of the enduring standards of literature may be said to be "moral elevation," or at least "clarification," then *Hadrian* attains that, and not at the expense of dramatic interest. A dynamic inheres in the revelations of this vastly humane character addressing the unformed Marcus Aurelius who may or may not be us. But this is no primer for princelings. It is the life of a spirit that one may be encouraged to share.

Hadrian's movement from his youth in Spain as son of a provincial governor, through his apprenticeships—studies and pleasures in Athens, politics and pleasures in Rome, the austerities of army life with frontier legions, the intrigue and rivalry in successions that brought him to be Emperor—is made inevitable and believable, not by historical reckoning, fastidious research, or devices of plot but by the positive force of full-blooded understanding that translates to act, that flows or flies to whatever level the reader may care to attain.

As a person who practices poetry, I know that I have been remiss in emphasizing mostly the thinking, discursive attributes of humanity—a nullity in Zeno, activity in Hadrian—although they are in these works, for me, the obvious matter. Aside from the bones of historical fact finely fleshed, and the act of making fiction to compel—at both of which Marguerite Yourcenar has gloriously excelled—she has also given us in them poetry which, we know, may aspire to everything. Poetry breathes well when it does not *appear* to address moral sensibility—what I call, above, the "obvious matter." I add this homily merely to yeast it. □

FILMS & PLAYS/Harold Clurman

The outstanding entry in the New York Film Festival's program was Marcel Ophuls's *The Memory of Justice* (it is now at the Beekman Theatre). On being asked whether I liked it I could only reply, "Can one 'like' an earthquake or a similar misfortune?" Though artfully made, *The Memory of Justice* is not art; it is the record of a mountain of disasters: the German concentration camps, the war in Vietnam and their aftermaths. Its "stars" are Hitler, Goering, Albert Speer, the still living and the dead of Auschwitz and Buchenwald, the judges, the witnesses at Nuremberg, the heroes and martyrs of those days, people of many creeds and nationalities. We do not hold court on them, we *see* them.

The "story" in this version takes four and a half hours to unfold. Past events are film clips in black and white; Ophuls's interviews (and those of several other investigators) are pictured in color. Deft cutting gives the entire piece cinematic variety and there are even moments of comedy including the nudity inevitable in contemporary film making: a sauna of mixed company.

I am not sure how much of the film is broadly meaningful to those still vague as to its historical background. For all that we see and hear of what happened, and what was said, we are not yet fully able to fathom the causes and motivations of these happenings. We are made aware of the horror but not informed as to its sources except that deluded or villainous people were involved. There is the danger that we might ascribe all of it to the inhumanity of human nature. There is a pitfall in such objectivity.

Who or what was responsible for the holocaust? Who besides Jews were its victims? ("The first sufferers from Nazism," Hanns Eisler once said, "were the German people.")

Was Hitler alone responsible? Were there no other blackguards and fools among the world leaders? Will seeing such a picture as this most admirable one prevent the repetition of other such blunders and crimes?

It is not enough, even though true, to say as Yehudi Menuhin does that "we are all guilty." One might maintain that Nazism, as a specifically local (or German) phenomenon, was a product of a national sense of inferiority compensated by aggressive militarism. Or one might trace the trouble to a "complex" which leads to the unquestioning obedience to a father figure. But we should also remember the follies of the Versailles Treaty and the desolation of Germany after World War I. We must certainly not forget the complicity of the allied powers in abetting Hitler as a means of destroying the Soviets. And Vietnam? One cannot evade the conclusion that our crusade against communism (or anything resembling it) was a major factor in fostering and spreading the dreaded system.

That *The Memory of Justice* should stir such considerations in our consciousness is one of its signal merits. There are others more evident: the chance to meet diverse political and legal personalities, the insight it affords of hurt, confused, honest and dear folk whose sons were killed in Vietnam, the statements of the wars' opponents, the honorable doubts of Telford Taylor, the remaining and ineradicable thick-headedness of certain young Germans, the dignity of Mme. Vaillant-Couturier (French Communist Senator who as a resister to the Nazi occupation was deported to Buchenwald, and who because of her experience there joined the party), the sight of well-meaning German burghers today. . . .

If *The Memory of Justice* induces us not only to deplore, bemoan and shiver but to think, study, understand, prepare and *act*, it will prove a work of inestimable value.

Almost the simplest of the Festival films was Satyajit Ray's *The Middleman*. Like all of this artist's work, *The Middleman* speaks eloquently in a low key. There is hardly any stress, no pounding of a message. With its beautiful cast, it is gently humorous, unemphatically saddening. The film depicts the gradual moral degradation of an innocent and innately decent people.

Ray hardly accuses, never rages, suggests no panacea. He shows with utmost

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delicacy of compassion a vast population sinking beneath the incalculable burden of economic and historical pressures. Still, under the crushing social behemoth the people remain sentient and loving. I spent too little time in India two years ago (especially in Calcutta where Ray resides and where *The Middleman* is situated) to write my "impressions" of it, but one thought I found inescapable was that even in total disorder in every phase of human concourse, indestructible vitality may still amazingly exist. Ray's film provides lyric testimony to this wonderful fact.

Akira Kurosawa's collaboration with the Soviet film industry and with Russian-speaking actors pays tribute in an entirely different way to humankind's power to brave and overcome adversity. *Dersu Uzala* is the name of a hunter in the wilds of Russia close to the Chinese border. Dersu, an Asian of the region, is a figure of heroic valor and integrity. He comes upon a group of Russian soldiers, commanded by a splendidly upright officer, who around 1910 had been sent to survey and discover the developmental possibilities of the distant outpost. Dersu serves as their guide; without him they would perish in that uncharted territory. The struggle is with nature. Due to the fortitude of these stalwart men, towns and cities will be established in later years.

There is a whiff of "propaganda" in the film, but it is of a healthy kind. The storms of wind, snow, freezing cold, the perilous breakup of the ice floes are rendered with marvelously convincing vividness. It is exciting as "adventure" and inspirational in implication. As I watched the men fighting the tempest and other inimical forces I could not forbear thinking: such people are not "lonely." They are too busy keeping alive; they are sustained by purposive action.

The West German film *Strongman Ferdinand*, directed by Alexander Kluge, is an unhumorous humorous satire (the combination is possible) on law and order, or the passion for security against subversion carried to a peak of complete muddle and insanity. A security chief employed by a giant German industrial corporation with financial headquarters in Brussels is so obsessed with his task that it amounts to a "religion." One has heard of that sort of mania before in other parts of the world! The safety-at-all-costs nut ends by spying on and shooting the head of the company he has been assigned to protect. Smilelessly comic, the film makes its sticky point.

More Festival films are to follow.

* * *

The Robber Bridegroom, based on a novella by Eudora Welty, with book and lyrics by Alfred Uhry and music composed by Robert Waldman is a highly engaging jamboree (Biltmore Theatre). I cannot provide a serious "critique" of the book, music or lyrics, nor is it necessary. All of these—whether original, genuine or pastiche—are lively enough Americana. Besides, I could not make out many of the words. The cast is not practiced in the artic-u-lation of song. But good will, dedication and gaiety are abundantly in evidence and a bouncing sense of fun spreads a glow of conviviality. Much credit for this is due to Donald Saddler's choreography and the surprise of invention in Gerald Freedman's direction. Also worthy of praise is the wooden rusticity of Douglas Schmidt's setting and the campfire glamour of David Segal's lighting, though there are no campfires in the show.

The cast, except for the vocal deficiency noted, is fine in its friendly verve. Barry Bostwick is a remarkably personable robber bridegroom. Women in the audience must wish he were theirs. Not being a woman, my particular favorites, besides the sunny and funny bride, Rhonda Coullet, are her hilariously hissing and grimacing stepmother, Barbara Lang, and the dark dancing beauty, Jana Schneider. I regretfully neglect some good men. As for the show's plot, no matter. It's the spirit that counts.

Though David Storey's *The Farm* is not one of his best plays and there are certain flaws in the, on the whole, well-directed production, I believe the Circle Repertory Company (off Sheridan Square) is justified in presenting it. David Storey, author of *Home*, *The Contractor*, *The Changing Room*, *Life Class*, is an authentic writer. He has an intimate connection with his material.

The Farm is clearly autobiographical. It is rooted in his Yorkshire youth and family. The environment is tormented: the father frustrated, physically plagued by both work and drink in a bitterly cold vicinity; his intimidated yet loyal wife bent against all odds on self-improvement; his three daughters, one a

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political puritan and thus "revolutionary," another a sexually avid schoolteacher, the third and oldest, also a schoolteacher, sturdily intelligent with a just dosage of forbearance and cynicism. And finally, a bewildered and thus far flabby son, who we are convinced will one day write good plays, novels and film scripts. For the most part we suffer with, and occasionally laugh at, the household turmoil, but in the end we see all the characters cheerfully breakfasting together, liking one another, after which each will proceed with his or her jobs and duties. That's England!

Jack Gwillim's Slattery (the father) looks right and sounds right. Debra Mooney, Trish Hawkins, Nancy Snyder are attractive daughters, though their Yorkshire speech is a sometime thing. Marshall Mason directs with a sound feeling for personal relationships, and if these are not altogether complete in the present instance (though there will be improvement with further playing), it may be because John Lee Beatty's setting, excellent in itself, should have been placed within a proscenium framework. That would have helped acoustically and communicated more feeling of a home. As it (the setting) stands, we do not always understand what is said, and the connection between the people seems dispersed or loose. □

TELEVISION

PETER SOURIAN

Our two beasts, Ford and Carter, slouch now toward the White House, for all to see and hear on TV. Or is the monstrous messiah actually TV itself, which has delivered these tweedles up to us, so cut and dried (except when Ford rebels with refreshing stupidity)?

Yeats lamented that "the centre cannot hold." Watching the "debates" one is struck by the fact that things have grown worse since his day: not only will the center not hold; neither will the right nor the left. For it was Ford who claimed the independence of nations within the Soviet orbit and it was Carter's cheap wisecrack that righteously associated bogyman Marx with the Republicans, while at the muddy center they both hollered for more defense and less spending, and slogged it out at inordinate length to win the hand of the Jewish Princess without really going near the Arab dragon. Of course they never went near anything of any size except when they blundered, though Carter's remark that today's imperiled Jews might be tomorrow's embattled Baptists was earnest-dyed baloney of a certain circumference.

Why is it all so crummy? Some will say it was always so, but I think not entirely. I fear that the current state of national politics is related to the present apogee of untrammeled commercial American TV. TV, really the best hope for democracy in a complex world, with its enormous power to speak plainly to plain people, is becoming glamorous. Going Hollywood while the cities burn might at least be desperate spangled fun, but TV glamour is crummy glamour. The burning question is not what news will Barbara Walters bring us, nor is it what sexy outfit will she be wearing tonight; it's whether or not she'll read off the teleprompter without flubbing her lines this time out. It's not really Walters's fault, I hasten to say, and it's not mine. And although it is bigger than both of us, as they used to say in Hollywood, *it* is not flaming passion, but a dreariness—*Due to Circumstances Beyond Our Control*, to borrow the title of Fred W. Friendly's 1968 book on TV. Things were bad in 1968 and they're bad in 1976, in spite of expansion of time for news and in spite of some decent if lockstepish news-discussion programs, especially on Public TV: the *MacNeil/Lehrer Report*, *Agronsky & Company* and *Washington Week in Review*.

Why? Economics, and very big capitalist economics at that. Friendly's book is an account of the inability of presumably well-meaning corporate executives to maintain any even mildly controversial programming in the service of truth, such as Murrow/Friendly's *See It Now*. Not to say that controversial stuff in the service of moneymaking is out; controversial violence, for example, will do just fine. Friendly's book traces the inexorable lines of pressure from the stockholder to the TV producer and leaves small room for hope, except that it is indeed remarkable, given the circumstances, that some creative spirits manage to achieve as much as they do. As far as TV is concerned, the vast-profit motive is an extraordinary crusher. I've always known that TV executives were of necessity obsessed with ratings, but it wasn't until I attended a couple of symposia on the state of TV today that I learned that the obsession has gripped Public TV executives as well. It was all they could seem to talk about.

What has all this to do with the Presidential elections? Plenty. The medium carrying the message is TV; other media are incidental. And the very tailored conditions under which the medium operates must ultimately affect the message. And presto, the man with the message is the man with the tailored message. Which turns him into a tweedle, *if he wasn't one to start with.*

Folklore is full of stories about guys who were going to do just this one crummy thing and then live happily ever after—except that doing the crummy thing made them crummy forevermore. We can't keep whoring after the lowest common denominator without ending up kind of low; we become the creatures of our obsession. To become a creature is to become unfree, and when we accuse the Communists of preventing freedom they retort that we do the same, in a perhaps less blatant but more insidious way.

If you are running for President on TV and if you are sane, you must either stop running to win at any cost, or deliberately play by insane rules. It is insane for a person relentlessly to subordinate everything he holds true to whether or not he will gain or lose the maximum vote-chunk in *every* given situation, yet it may appear to be the only sane thing to do under conditions of instant and irreversible mass exposure.

Thus, when Ford committed his gaffe over Eastern Europe, the normal thing for Carter, particularly in debate, would have been to take issue with it then and there. But for a candidate running on TV to indulge a normal reflex would have been a foolish thing to do, because then Ford might have clarified his statement and thus ended the trivial matter. Max Frankel in fact gave him that opportunity, but Ford was unable to figure the thing out by himself. The next day Carter perpetuated the nuttiness and the dumbness in the hope of making a profit: he professed shock and dismay, though he knew perfectly well Ford is no lefty. He truckled to the ethnic vote.

If he and his advisers hadn't been razor-trained not ever to let the truth matter most in a given situation, he could have shown Ford up *with* the truth. But when you've moved up in present-day politics or in other forms of marketing as obsessed with the ratings as is your TV executive counterpart, instant mass exposure forces you to shy off the truth if you're to be sane and practical and, yes, morally responsible to your supporters (read stockholders).* An obsession with truth would have afforded Carter a bracing victory over Ford in the matter; the obsession with ratings prevented the possibility of

*In Friendly's book, Paley and Stanton of CBS are constantly sighing and explaining that they have a moral responsibility to the stockholders. They even sigh over the telephone.

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any really exhilarating success, the sort which excites—leads—people in a positive or creative direction.

I'm surely not as intelligent as Carter, but neither am I as obsessed by ratings. Instead of implying that good old Jerry Ford is some kind of closet pinko, when I *knew* this to be untrue, I would have said the truth. I would have said in statesmanlike fashion that I knew what good old Jerry Ford was trying to say and that, whether I agreed or not, I could see a certain rationale behind it, but that the reason why I should be President and not Jerry is because while *I* knew what he was trying to say, Jerry himself obviously did not. I would have submitted that Ford had long ago been coached—by Kissinger, presumably—in an American diplomatic position vis-à-vis those countries along the lines of the Sonnenfeldt Doctrine, and that he'd kind of learned it by rote. So, not fully grasping the dynamics of the thing himself, he earnestly spouted nonsense when that particular button was pressed. So naturally, when Frankel pressed the button again for a clarification, the President of the United States couldn't come up with one.

That's what Carter might have done. But the stakes were too high, and who has time or room for the truth when TV forces you to be so *careful*, so obsessed with the ratings? In the old days a politician went from constituency to constituency. If he said something to please the constituency right in front of him, it might not travel far enough to disturb a different constituency; or if it did, it would get there via newspaper, a medium more properly at one remove. Thus he could address himself largely to the concerns of the particular group he was facing and then go on to the next; and in each case he was unshaken by awe of the overall ratings. He could venture truths (or lies) without fearing they would strike him dead on the spot. Things would stay in proportion or—if the politician was a hack and so minded—in the obscurity of rhetoric, but whatever his disposition he didn't have to shred each and every thought he ever had into a blender.

So—this cursed TV has flattened everything out and it's boring and a lot of people won't vote, because the candidates are shadows boxing and because in such a flat world no three-dimensional issue can survive longer than a neutrino in a cloud chamber. Only shadows or, at best, fluff. The issues are (and I'm serious): If Jimmy is elected, will his long-leashed lust finally get the better of him and run him amok during the crucial state visit of Prince and Princess Tweedle? Is Jerry going to trade Alaska away to the Russians for the six-slice toaster which Eisenhower had originally presented to Khrushchev at Camp David way back when? Is Chevy Chase really Ron Nessen's speech writer, for crying out loud?

So it's glamour without the glamour. These two clunky guys worrying about their make-up. I was happy to put up with Greta Garbo's narcissism (*a*) because it was the real thing, and (*b*) because it was Garbo. But Ford's is (*a*) pretty small stuff, and (*b*) for all I know, he may not even have any.

The real narcissist these days is American TV itself, fat and spoiled and slouching. In the Communist countries Big Brother is watching. Here, I fear, we the people are condemned to watch Big Brother. □

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

Franklin Furnace (112 Franklin Street, New York City) is a bookstore for books by artists: the tables are as important as the walls. Until October 14 there were books by Nancy Kitchell and Rosemary Mayer on view, but it is Mayer that I want to speak of here. She is known as a sculptor: at the A.I.R. Gallery in 1973 she showed three large sculptures, accompanied by a page of commentary; in 1975 at the Whitney Museum's Art Resources Center, she showed a sculpture, "The Portae," along with a book. It was a unique manuscript of handwritten notes, working sketches and source material in collage, giving the cultural context of the imposing sculpture. At Franklin Furnace we can see the culmination of such a text without the sanction of the central work of art. It is clear that we are in the presence of

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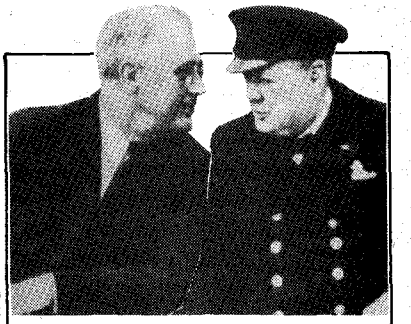
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a complex sensibility, at ease with both visual and verbal means.

Mayer's books resemble illuminated manuscripts done with collage. On the one hand there is the flat candor with which she uses postcards and color reproductions from art books and magazines; they are presented for what they are, with no affectation. On the other hand, they are incorporated in a radiant knot of linear pattern and color. In the book, *Passages*, for example, the Medici family tree and the laurels in the background of a portrait of Cosimo dei Medici are, so to say, rhymed. Mayer's books are not designed for production: they would be prohibitively expensive to duplicate, but the fact of uniqueness does not lessen their interest. Hence the importance of the Franklin Furnace where such work can be consulted.

The books may have started as a divulging of the reflections from which her sculpture came, but now they exist firmly as books. The amalgam of drawn and written statement is persuasive. The mixture is seen in both her single drawings and the books. *Transitions*, a collection of flower drawings interleaved with texts, contains the following: "Drawing flowers is a preservation different from pressed flowers or photographs in the ways it will hold the curves and colors of a crocus and/or iris. Different for its record of all of what passes in the mind and body of whoever is drawing." It is precisely this associative capacity of line that characterizes Mayer's work.

She has built up an iconography, given in her sculpture, elaborated in her drawings and books, that alludes to self (the artist's body-image), culture (the art of the past, for example, Pontormo, the Asam Brothers), and nature (flowers). These are the terms for a soliloquy of complex transitions. Some of the links are: the architectural and visceral analogies of flower structure; culture as an anthology of sensuous artifacts; and the body as an allusive repository of both floral and cultural forms. Mayer has created an erotic consciousness that touches all these areas; hers is the precise expression of transitional states.

"Close to Home" is the title of a survey of new still life painting by women artists. It was chosen by two of the artists, Lucy Sallick and Phyllis Floyd, and housed in the Genesis Galleries, a new place at 41 East 57th Street (until November 15). There seems to have been some stress in the collaboration. The gallery added an artist of its own choice to those gathered by Sallick and Floyd: regardless of the artist's merits, this is unacceptable interference. In addition, dinky sculpture by gallery artists cluttered the gallery space distractingly. However the exhibition shines through the gallery's commercialism.

The term still life has tended to be used to refer to compilations of objects on a table top, treated as a plateau capped by a bottle or a fruit bowl, its sharp edge broken by a knife handle or a trailing flower. In addition to images on this scale, however, modern still life painters have expanded to take in sectors of space beyond the table. Susanna Shatkin's "Carnival Window," with its interplay of indoor and outdoor space, is a good example.

In the catalogue Ellen Lubell nicely describes another category of objects, seen in close-up, as "physically nonoriented to the space they inhabit." They exist in majestic singleness. Lubell assumes Pop art's influence here, but I suspect Georgia O'Keeffe's flowers as a stronger influence on a picture like Susan Leites's "Tulip Study." As it happens, there are at present two one-artist shows that emphasize the nonoriented object in a manner closer to O'Keeffe than to Lichtenstein. At the First Street Gallery (until October 27) Helen Wilson is showing firmly drawn and coolly painted objects, and at the Andre Zarre Gallery (until October 30) Buffie Johnson's cycle of large flower heads is displayed in centrifugal abundance. Neither of these artists happens to be in "Close to Home"; that is not a sign of the organizers' neglect but of the timeliness of their choice of theme. The exhibition samples a thriving aspect of realist painting. It assembles thirty-three painters scattered through more than a dozen commercial galleries and in cooperatives such as Prince Street, SoHo 20 (of which Sallick is a member), and the Central Hall Gallery in Port Washington (Floyd), though the co-ops, unlike the commercial galleries, are not acknowledged in the catalogue. Why not? Eight or so of the artists are unaffiliated. The show therefore gives a purposeful shape to what had previously been apprehended only fragmentarily.

It includes supple post-School of Paris works by Nell Blaine, Jane Freilicher, Alice Neel and Jane Wilson—all fluent, all painterly. Audrey Flack is represented by an early work, "Royal Jello," warmly impasted, somewhat like a Wayne Thiebaud in handling, an interesting use of the woman-specific subject matter she developed in her later work. Photo-Realism is approached by two all-over scatter pictures, "Weingummi" by Kay Kurt and Idele Weber's "Heineken" where photo-accuracy is thickening into painterliness. The place where Pop art does show is not in the display of consumer goods, such as Marion Lerner Levine's still life with luxuriant labels, but in Jasper Johnsian diagrams by Susan Hoeltzel and Jan Hashey, which are speculations on the shadowy side of objects rather than affirmations of their reality. □

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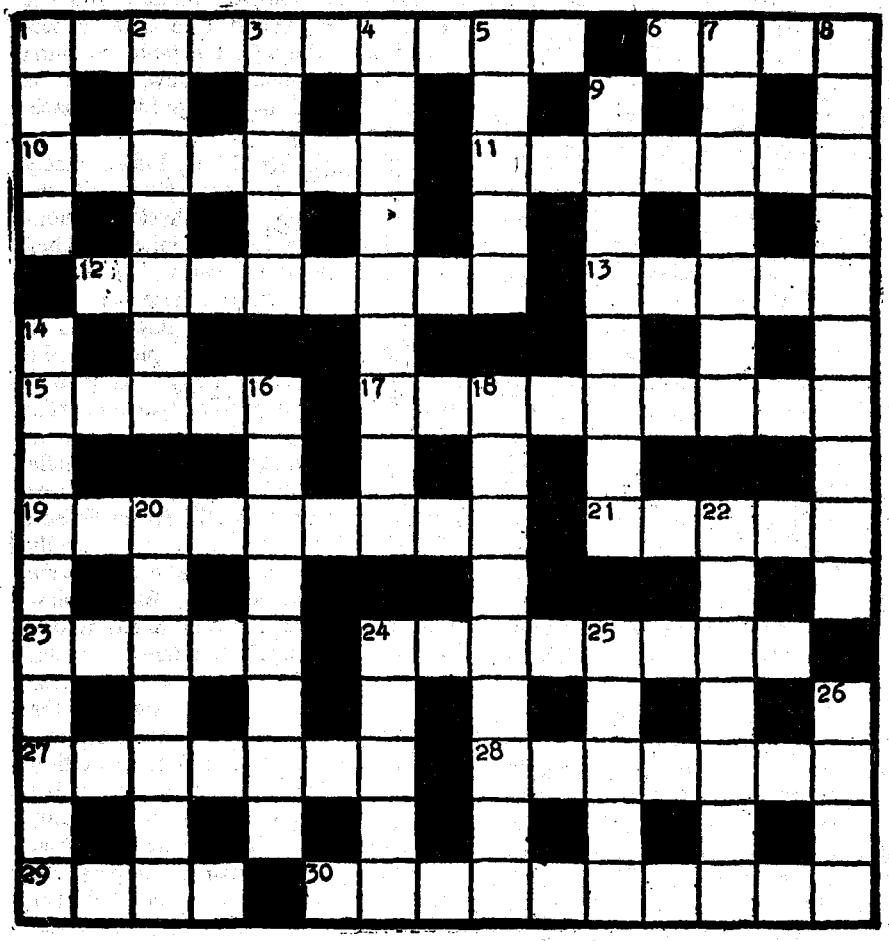

ACROSS

1 and 6 The uprising of the workers may be made difficult with it, with a certain amount of protest at a familiar joint. (10,4)
10 A physiological unit with almost all rice is characteristic. (7)
11 Took part in an evening performance, in a way. (7)
12 The coach might send in one to replace a tired player, though not representative of the upper classes. (8)
13 Continuous rapid softly clicking sound.
15 Signs of people in so backward condition? (5)
17 An unhealthy condition with a bad heart, when one gets poorly paid around it. (9)
19 With the toes turned out, passed around what might be exhibited. (9)
21 Poe's rhyme was sort of this. (5)
23 The old ruler of wine and water? (5)
24 A delicate difference around is somewhat bothersome. (8)
27 Legally, a certain type of 24 across is sometimes said to. (7)
28 The sod I turned is then lifted up. (7)
29 Old poems of a different language that might be considered dead. (4)
30 Not necessarily a set-up for Ali. (4,6)

DOWN

1 and 18 down Smith might have been so described, if not sober. The usual application could be with a ruler. (4,3,6)
2 What a dentist might do to a tooth? The thought of it alone might! (7)
3 Where some hang small things on poles merits some consideration. (5)
4 Go along with the current firm. (9)
5 Perhaps portrayed as being haggard. (5)
7 Easy attire, but short of being careless. (7)
8 Finish a quantity given by multiplication, as a result. (3-7)
9 Blue/green in the main, but a sweater might be made out of it. (3-5)
14 One might find this lot engaged in some movement in the far west. (6,4)
16 The death of one could be dramatic. (8)
20 Seen to be unlike Samson, finally. (7)
22 Fortunately this party, as they used to say, has died out as a matter of habit for some. (7)
24 African place of birth. (5)
25 An excuse for what sometimes goes with woman's, in first-class shape. (5)
26 In dire need of settling an early plot. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 1651

ACROSS: 1 Water pistol; 9, 12 and 7 Barnacle Bill the Sailor; 10 Acacia; 11 Flouted; 14 Greens; 15 Calabash; 17 Film clip; 20 Chintz; 22 Unusual; 24 Alsatia; 26 Starch; 27 Earrings; 28 V for Victory. DOWN: 2 Ad nauseum; 3 Eschews; 4 Pier; 5 Spatial; 6 and 21 down Of all things; 8 Nights; 16 Brigadier; 18 Ignite; 19 Leather; 20 Culprit; 23 Serif; 25 and 13 Periscope.

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